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Principle of Least Effort in the
Study of Administration

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Almost every critical discourse on the subject of public administration assumes, either implicitly or explicitly, that *efficiency* must be considered as a significant aspect of administrative action. Some writers speak of *economy*, others of *coordination*, *cooperation*, *smooth operation*, or even of *good administration*; yet all of them have the same objective in mind—the fulfillment of purposes with the least possible effort.

There are, to be sure, several writers who object with vigor to what they regard as over-emphasis upon "efficiency in operation." A few of their objections arise from a questionable concept of *efficiency*,¹ others from their perception of the fact that *efficiency* within a given organization may be incompatible with the highest achievement of *social efficiency* within the community of which the given organization forms a part. It seems clear that many of the disagreements are caused by dissimilar definitions of *efficiency*, or by differences of opinion as to the degree of probability that a change which reduces the amount of effort expended to carry out part of a major task will also reduce the amount of effort expended to carry out the entire task. None of these objections are direct attacks upon the view expressed by Gulick that "In the science of administration . . . the basic *good* is efficiency."²

This apparent agreement upon the importance of the notion of efficiency suggests that it may not be inadvisable to consider the matter at its roots. If the study of administration involves the acceptance of a fundamental premise which serves as a guiding principle by which

¹ For example, some writers apparently use *efficiency* as a synonym for *effectiveness*.

² Gulick and Urwick, *Papers on the Science of Administration* (1937) p. 192.

logical reasoning and empirical observation must proceed, we may ask, what are its relations to the basic premises upon which other branches of social science (for example, economics) are built? And we may ask, how should the premise be stated?

Let us first investigate the relations of *efficiency* with the notion, upon which classical economic theory is based, of *the economic man*. This basic principle of classical economics has been stated as follows: "Man constantly seeks what he believes to be the greatest satisfaction of his wants and those of his family by the means which he thinks call for the least effort."⁸ We are not here concerned about the validity of the premise in economics. We may assume, however, that if it has validity as a guide to the study of relationships in the economic world, it should be valid (no doubt with limitations or enlargements or interpretations) in the study of other types of relationships, and it therefore might well serve as a starting point in the study of administration.

The concept of the *economic man*, in the form in which it has been quoted above, is often criticized on the ground that, even though true, it is of little value as a guiding principle in either theory or investigation. In the first place, say the critics, the goal which man is said to seek—namely, the greatest satisfaction of his wants—is so indefinite that the direction of his efforts is unpredictable except in the most general terms. In the second place, even though man seeks to achieve his ends by such means as *he thinks* call for the least effort, there is no assurance that he is sufficiently informed, or sufficiently rational, or sufficiently free of the toils of prejudice, habit, and custom to judge accurately the amount of effort required by each of several alternatives. These criticisms are important; and the student of administration must determine whether or not the same limitations serve to restrict the usefulness of the premise as a basis of scientific thought in his own field.

There are two differences, relevant to our purpose, between the study of economics and the study of administration. We may say, first, that while the economist seeks to predict the actions of individuals or of groups in a complex society where objectives must be classed as unknown factors, the student of administration considers the consequences of various alternative procedures on the part of a relatively close-knit organization of which some, at least, of the objectives have been formally declared in legislative acts or executive decisions which have

⁸ Jacques Rueff, *From the Physical to the Social Sciences* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), p. 108.

created the organization, or have defined the scope of its activities. In any particular problem, the student of administration may therefore substitute the specified objectives for the vague phrase, "the greatest satisfaction of his [man's] wants"; and he need not consider whether those specified objectives will produce the greatest satisfaction. To be sure, the true or the entire objectives may not be expressed in the formal declarations, and the declarations may not allude to other objectives which may be at least equally important either in reality or in the minds of the citizens—which may indeed be incompatible with the objectives that are declared. But these considerations have no primary relevance to the problem which faces the student of administration. His approach may be similar to that of a physicist, who seeks to determine the efficiency of a given machine but does not try to measure the extent to which the machine will satisfy human wants.

We may say, secondly, that while an economist must seek to determine the specific means which, in the minds of individuals, or of groups, calls for the least or less effort in the attainment of given goals, the student of administration considers the comparative amounts of effort which, *in reality*, are or will be required by various alternative methods of attaining prescribed goals—and subsequently attempts to enlighten the members of the community by displaying the results of his investigations. The second objection which has been raised to the economic premise of the *economic man* does not, therefore, apply with equal force to that notion when it is transferred to the field of administrative studies.

The use of the concept, that efficiency is a basic good, as a starting point from which the study of administration may proceed can be justified by another approach. Assuming, as we must if we are to develop any common body of thought, that every organization seeks to attain the objectives it has declared or which have been declared for it, we can raise the question: what are the fundamental principles that must be recognized and adhered to in every attempt to attain those objectives? Or, to limit the question to the scope of this present discourse, is efficiency—the *principle of least effort*—a basic principle upon which the success of every organization depends?

Each human being contributes to many organizations, every one of which demands (directly or indirectly) some effort on his part. He is compelled, therefore, to distribute his energies among the several organizations and to contribute only a limited amount of effort to the

collective activity of each. Moreover, the total of human energy is not adequate to make possible the complete fulfillment of all the objectives of every social organization in existence. The recognition of these facts leads to two conclusions: first, that every social organization operates on a scarcity of human energy; and second, that the degree of this scarcity depends in large part upon the extent to which the members of an organization are willing to contribute their energies for the furtherance of its work.

The first of these conclusions is in itself sufficient to justify the study of efficiency. We may assume, in view of the scarcity of energy, that no organization will ever attain its objectives in full. Therefore, the degree to which any given organization will approximate its goals depends upon the extent to which it derives the greatest possible value from all the given portions of its contributors' efforts, and upon its ability to achieve the greatest possible value from the total of given individual contributions. We are justified in assuming that if an organization is able to reduce the amount of effort necessary for the performance of any part of its work, it will be able to transfer human energy to other parts of its work, and that it will thereby increase its total achievement.

The second conclusion mentioned above—namely, that the degree of scarcity of human energy in an organization depends upon the extent to which the members are willing to serve the organization—is derived from the fact that every organization must compete with other organizations (as well as with human lethargy and indifference) for its share of the energy of each and every one of its members. In this aspect the problem fades and becomes intangible; for here—as in the basic problem of classical economics—it is necessary to consider the satisfactions which an individual derives from his activities. According to the basic premise of economics, the willingness of an individual to contribute his efforts towards the achievement of the common task of a group depends both upon the satisfactions which he derives from his participation in the efforts of the group, and the degree to which *he thinks* he is approaching the maximum of satisfactions by a given expenditure of effort. Here we must consider an aspect of the problem which is related to the notion of *social efficiency*. If an individual thinks that the energy he contributes to the work of the organization does not help to satisfy his own wants as well as it would if directed to some other use, he may not be willing to contribute it to the collective effort of the organization, and consequently the collective achievement of the or-

ganization will be diminished. Moreover, if an individual thinks that the channels through which his energy is expended require a greater outlay of energy than would some other channels leading to the same ends, he will tend to be less willing to contribute his energy. Consequently, an organization is compelled to recognize the need of its members for satisfactions, and also the notions of its members as to what means call for the least effort in the attainment of those satisfactions. A purely mechanical approach to the concept of efficiency—that is, one which considers efforts necessary to the attainment of goals without considering the relation of those efforts to the psychologists of the individuals affected—may not lead to the selection of methods that will in practice result in the attainment of the prescribed goals by a minimum of effort. Students of administration and administrative leaders must seek to provide every contributor of effort with the information and the spirit that will tend to make the contributor's concepts of his own satisfaction and of the least and desirable amounts of necessary effort consistent with that upon which the collective procedure is planned; and to the extent that the contributors cannot be brought to agree with the plan for collective effort, the leaders of the organization may be compelled to make concessions.

It seems safe to assume that when an individual has become accustomed to doing things in a certain way, he comes to believe that that way involves less effort on his part than other ways of achieving the same objectives. Certainly, a new procedure that, on its introduction, causes confusion in the minds of the individuals who take part in it, may raise in their minds a feeling that unnecessary effort is now required. Any change in procedure is therefore likely to call for a program of training—combined at times with a process of gradual transition—in order to avoid, as far as possible, any sense of confusion and uncertainty in the minds of the contributors of effort. Moreover, an administrative agency may be forced to take into account the effect of any change in its procedures upon the members of the political organization within which it exists—or even upon the community as a whole. A change in procedure may cause greater efficiency within an administrative unit, and the result may be fully recognized by the direct contributors—the employees—; but if the relations between the administrative unit and the community are such that the new procedure necessitates changes in the activities of persons outside of the unit, confusion and uncertainty among those persons may be such as to arouse in them a

feeling that their wants are not fulfilled to the same extent that they previously were, or that they are now required to expend more energy than is necessary in order to achieve their individual ends through the operations of the administrative unit. Such a feeling in the community frequently results in political opposition, and may cause the overthrow of the political and administrative leaders who were, or who are thought to have been, the instigators of the change in procedure; and in the long run little or nothing has been gained.

These considerations do not, however, invalidate the general principle of least effort. They merely show the remoter factors which may enter a given problem. Any attempt to reduce the amount of effort required to carry out a prescribed administrative function must be considered in relation not only to mechanical efficiency but also to the general social situation. A student of administration is justified in his attempt to discover and to report changes in organization and procedure that would reduce the amount of effort required for the attainment of prescribed goals; but the introduction of a new organization or a new procedure which involves a gain in mechanical efficiency must be considered in the light of its probable effect upon the notions held by individuals of human satisfactions and of least and desirable effort. The actual changes in procedures must be adapted to those concepts, by concessions towards individual or communal notions; or those individual and communal concepts must be changed by an educational program previous to any attempt to introduce the new procedures.

Nevertheless, the guiding principle in an objective study of administration is the principle of least effort, which may be expressed as follows:

The degree to which any social organization approaches the fulfillment of its declared objectives tends to vary inversely as the sum of human effort required for the performance of all necessary parts of its work.⁴

⁴ If the proposition is expressed in mathematical terms

$$\frac{A}{G} = \frac{K}{E_1 + E_2 + \dots + E_n} = \frac{K}{\sum E_i}$$

where G=the declared objectives; A=that portion of the objectives which is achieved; K=a constant; E_1 =the human energy expended in the achievement of one discrete part of the work, E_2 =the human energy expended in the achievement of a second discrete part of the work, and it is assumed that the attainment of the declared objectives requires the performance of n discrete tasks. In the third member i is a subscript which takes in succession all unit values between and including 1 and n , and the sign \sum indicates the operation of summation.

Some Political Characteristics of American Congressmen, 1800-1919

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A recent unpublished study makes it possible to review trends in some of the political characteristics of American congressmen during most of the history of the United States. By political characteristics is meant those concerned with political organizations and behavior, the main items of which are voting, political party affiliations, and office-holding. The following questions, all related to the latter item, will be reviewed for the congressmen: the nature of the highest office held prior to congressional service (local, state, and federal, being the order from low to high), age at beginning congressional service, length of service, and length and type of activity in the post-congressional period. In addition, special attention will be given to "professional politicians," defined as those who had held public office a longer period of time than they had been in private employment.

The information on which the analysis will be based was taken from 1,165 of the approximately 9,000 biographical sketches listed in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*. These sketches were selected so as to obtain data on 200 representatives and approximately 100 senators for each of the four thirty-year periods of congressional service: 1800-1829, 1830-1859, 1860-1889, 1890-1919. The period in which each congressman was classified was determined by the year of beginning his congressional service. The four periods were employed not for their special historical significance but merely to obtain units approximately equivalent to the length of a generation, which would be useful in showing trends not tangibly affected by fluctuations during each decade.

Only those congressmen no longer living at the time of publication of the *Directory* were included, since the post-congressional career and average length of life were considered in the analysis. Other groups excluded were women, Negroes, those who had been territorial dele-

¹ Brockway, Marian L., "A Study of the Geographical, Occupational, and Political Characteristics of Congressmen, 1800-1919." *Thesis for the Master of Arts Degree*, University of Kansas, 1938.

gates, those who had served in both houses of the Congress, and those who were in the Congress less than two years, in addition to those beginning service before 1800 and after 1919. The biographies finally selected were distributed by taking for each period of the study the first 50 qualified representatives from the letter classifications beginning with A, G, M, and S, and the first 50 qualified senators from the classifications beginning with A and M. This method yielded the desired number of cases in all categories except those of senators in the first and last periods. The use of all qualified persons here resulted in totals of 79 and 86, respectively, for the earliest and latest periods.

The selection of cases is justified by the gain in homogeneity of the data finally analyzed. In this way a number of minor factors which might combine to produce a serious effect upon the results of such a small sample for the representatives and senators of each period were eliminated. Such a procedure is well-recognized by statisticians as a means of providing reliable conclusions without recourse being necessary to large samples.

Because of difficulties in developing a uniform classification of public offices within the local communities and states, analysis of *highest public offices held in the pre-congressional period* was confined to the simplest possible classification: federal, state, local, and no office. The data reveal significant changes during the period of study (Table I). The percentage holding no public office and only a local office increased (the former from 14.0 to 21.0 per cent, the latter from 9.3 to 19.0 per cent). As the percentage holding federal offices remained remarkably constant, the percentage holding state offices, although consistently the largest, bore the brunt of all these gains. From approximately two-thirds, the latter percentage decreased to approximately one-half.

The pre-congressional offices were very similar for representatives and senators, the deviation from the figures for the total group being very slight. Representatives, however, surpassed senators in percentage holding no office and holding local offices, while more than twice as large a proportion of senators had held federal offices as was true of representatives, and considerably larger percentages had held state offices, particularly in the later periods of the study. For senators federal offices surpassed in importance the local and no office categories, which fact is reversed in the distribution for the representatives. As a rule the trends of the total group were borne out in the component groups, the only exception being the gradual decline of senators hold-

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF CONGRESSMEN ACCORDING TO THE HIGHEST POLITICAL
OFFICE HELD IN THE PRE-CONGRESSIONAL PERIOD

Periods	Number	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
		TOTAL CONGRESSMEN				
		Total	Holding no office	Holding local office	Holding state office	Holding federal office
1st (1820).....	279	100.0	14.0	9.3	66.3	10.4
2nd (1840).....	300	100.0	17.0	11.0	62.7	9.3
3rd (1870).....	300	100.0	21.3	12.7	55.7	10.3
4th (1900).....	286	100.0	21.0	19.0	50.7	9.3
Whole Period.....	1165	100.0	18.3	13.0	58.9	9.8

Representatives

1st.....	200	100.0	16.5	10.5	65.0	8.0
2nd.....	200	100.0	20.5	13.5	62.0	4.0
3rd.....	200	100.0	24.0	16.5	50.5	9.0
4th.....	200	100.0	22.0	25.0	46.0	7.0
Whole Period.....	800	100.0	20.8	16.3	55.9	7.0

Senators

1st.....	79	100.0	7.6	6.3	70.0	16.1
2nd.....	100	100.0	10.0	6.0	64.0	20.0
3rd.....	100	100.0	16.0	5.0	66.0	13.0
4th.....	86	100.0	18.6	4.7	62.3	14.4
Whole Period.....	365	100.0	13.1	5.5	65.4	16.0

ing local offices, and the gradual increase of the representatives and the total in this item. Some irregularity was also in evidence in the changes, as would be expected of such small samples.

A further breakdown of the data into two groups, one consisting of those whose occupational class before congressional service was that of lawyer, and one consisting of those in all other occupations, reveals some interesting facts, although such small samples do not justify a tabular presentation. Fewer and fewer of those in the law group in the Senate had held only local offices, while for the whole sample the number holding local offices had been on the increase. Not only did they follow the trend of the senators in this respect, but the law group of the senators tended even more in a direction away from only local offices. In the last period no senate lawyer had held only a local office prior to congressional service. Another discovery was the preponderance

of lawyers in both houses holding state or federal offices prior to congressional service, while non-lawyers showed greater trends toward local and no offices. Thus the law profession is superior to the non-law occupations in the rank of the highest pre-congressional office held. The senate lawyer group had the best pre-congressional record of state and federal office-holding and the representative non-lawyer group was at the other extreme.

Age at beginning of congressional service theoretically is important information in reference to most of the other items included in the report. If it is increasing, the length of service may be expected to decrease. Unless the average length of life can increase in proportion, age at beginning congressional service is also indirectly related to the proportion of the career in the Congress, and also to the status of a man as a professional politician. The average age increased consistently for the total and for representatives during the period of study, but for senators it increased from the first to the second period and remained the same in the other two (Table II). Some statistical factors seem to have

TABLE II
AVERAGE AGE AT BEGINNING CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE

<i>Periods</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Representatives</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1st.....	41.6	41.0	43.0
2nd.....	45.0	44.0	47.0
3rd.....	46.3	46.0	47.0
4th.....	47.7	48.0	47.0

affected these figures. The average age for the first period, 1800-1829, was possibly reduced by the elimination of those who were or had been delegates, presumably an older group. Selection of only the deceased persons in the 1890-1919 group also probably served slightly to reduce the average age in the fourth period.

It is interesting to note that the increasing age of beginning congressional service is roughly parallel with what is known of the aging of the total population. Data on life expectancy of males in Massachusetts reveal a change from 34.5 years in 1789 to 38.3 in 1850. The average for the whole United States population has been rising steadily in recent decades. In 1901 it was 47.9 years, almost identical with the age of congressmen of the final period at the time of beginning congressional service. It is noteworthy, however, that the length of life of

the general population has increased much more rapidly than age at beginning congressional service.

The causes of this increase in age at the time of beginning congressional service are not entirely clear. Concomitant with the aging of the general population perhaps older persons are becoming candidates or older ones are receiving more votes than formerly. A longer period of education undoubtedly has had some effect.² A larger proportion of people who first enter the business world and then turn to politics also may influence congressional age.³

The *length of service* of congressmen is one of the more significant items included in the study because of its relationship to efficiency of the legislative body, on the assumption that practice in law-making, as in any other activity, increases efficiency. Statements of writers in the field of political science are in accord with this assumption.⁴ The average length of service revealed by this study was 4.3 years for representatives (slightly over two terms) and 7.8 years for senators (slightly over one term) for the entire period. Service of this length is certainly not conducive to maximum efficiency, in spite of the fact that some of the congressmen had served an apprenticeship in state legislatures. Such a period of years is no more than enough for a general preparation for efficient service and yet, since some of the persons included served more than fifteen years, most of each group served even less than these figures indicate. More than one-third of the representatives served only a single term, and more than three-fourths served six years or less. Even in the case of senators over 50 per cent served six years or less, on account of the inclusion of a number who filled unexpired terms.

The data do, however, reveal an encouraging increase in length of service through the period of study. For senators the average figure rose from 5.9 years in 1820 to a peak of 9.7 and then declined to the

² The percentage of representatives with college education increased from 38.0 in the earliest period to 54.0 in the latest, compared with percentages of 45.7 and 62.8 for the same period for senators.

³ In support of this suggestion, a decline in the percentage of lawyers in the Congress occurred during the period of study (from 66.5 per cent for representatives in the second period to 51.0 per cent in the last period, and from 79.0 per cent for senators to 58.0 per cent in the corresponding periods), while the percentage engaged in trade increased from 7.5 per cent for representatives and 5.0 per cent for senators in the earliest period to 21.0 and 23.2 per cent, respectively, in the last period.

⁴ For example, Hyneman, C. S., "Tenure and Turnover of the Indiana General Assembly," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 32 (February, 1938), p. 53.

1900 level of 7.6 years. For representatives the average in 1820 was 4.7 years. There was a decline to 3.9 years in 1870 and an increase to 5.9 years in 1900.⁵ In addition the percentage of representatives serving only two terms declined slightly throughout the period and those serving over seven years increased from 1840 to 1900. The senators revealed the same types of changes. Thus, the number serving only two years declined from 7.0 per cent in 1840 to 1.2 per cent in 1900. At the same time the percentages of those serving 12 to 16 years inclusive increased from 7.2 to 12.8 per cent, while those serving 17 to 26 years increased from 3.6 to 11.6 per cent.

It is important to note that the law group again surpassed the non-law group in length of service in both houses of the Congress during most of the periods, only those serving 12 years or more being the basis of consideration. The only exception for representatives was the fourth period where the proportionate difference was much slighter than for the other periods. For senators the lawyers surpassed the non-law group in every period, and in all except the second had more than twice as large a percentage with more than twelve years service.

The *part of the individual's career in which the congressional service occurred* is dependent upon the individual's age at its beginning, the length of that service, and the length of the individual's occupational life. Since the first two have been increasing generally through the period of study, the likelihood is that the part of the individual's career in which the congressional service occurred was correspondingly in the latter part of the occupational career, unless the occupational career was lengthening in proportion. The average length of life has changed but little throughout the period of study, increasing from 67 years for those serving in the first period, to 71 years for representatives and 70 years for senators in the third period, followed by a decline to 63 and 67 years, respectively, in the final period.⁶ This final decline is probably due in large part, and perhaps entirely, to the restriction of the sample

⁵ The decline in the 1900 figure for senators may be due to the fact that the subjects in the last period included only those who were deceased. By the same reasoning the figure for representatives also should be adjusted upward.

⁶ The effect of selection in the last period is again evidenced in the great decrease in length of life of representatives after entrance to the Congress. The figure for 1890-1919 was only 15 years, whereas it has been 25 years in the second and third periods and 36 years during the first period. For senators the decline in the last period was very slight (in order, from the earliest period of the study, the corresponding figures were 24, 22, 23, and 20 years).

to deceased individuals. It is thus apparent that the increase in length of life has been insufficient to prevent a shift of congressional service toward a later part of the occupational history. This is especially true when it is realized that length of preparation for a career has been increasing somewhat, perhaps enough to hold the length of total occupational career approximately constant during the period of study.

Direct evidence on length of occupational life could not always be obtained with accuracy from the original data, and rough estimates of length of career for this reason had to be employed, based on information on early career and type of education. From this estimated beginning point to the person's death was designated as the career period. If the difference obtained by subtracting the number of years of the pre-congressional period from that of the post-congressional period was 10 years or more in favor of the post-congressional period, the career was designated one in which congressional service was in the early career period. On the other hand, if the margin of the pre-congressional period was 10 years or more the part of the career in which the congressional service began was designated the late period. Any subject for whom the result was between these two figures was classified as beginning his congressional career in the middle part of his occupational career.

In accordance with the expectation based on the above-mentioned reasoning, the percentage of subjects entering the Congress in the late period has increased in every period of study, finally reaching 76.2 per cent (25.8 per cent in 1820, 37.3 in 1840, and 44.3 in 1870). The proportion of congressmen dying in office also reflects these trends, as well as the increase in length of service. From 4 per cent of representatives in the first period who died in office the figure rose to more than 21 per cent in 1900. Corresponding percentages for the senators ranged between 16.5 and 33.7.

Because of the changes mentioned, *the post-congressional period* is of much less importance in the later periods than at first. As a rule the retired congressmen held no public offices or only local offices. This is to be expected in view of the fact that most of them did not retire voluntarily. Those who held no public office increased from 40.2 per cent in 1829 to 77.3 per cent in 1919. The senators, as would be expected because of more advanced age at beginning service, longer average service, and larger proportion who died in office, exhibited a greater

increase than representatives. The earlier figures for representatives and senators, in order, were 33.3 and 45.6 per cent, compared with 70.6 and 78.0 for the later period. Again the last period figures are probably slightly inflated by the selective factor mentioned above. Local office-holding increased slightly for representatives toward the last, but the decline in state office-holding was consistent for all groups. Federal offices have followed the same downward trend, except for an increase to 1859. Senators held more federal offices than was true of representatives in the post-congressional period but the percentage declined consistently.

One of the most interesting and important groups of office-holders consists of those who, during the larger part of their occupational careers, have been political office-holders. This group for the purpose of the present report has been designated "professional politicians."⁷ It is interesting to discover that the professional politician group has, on the whole, declined in numerical importance during the period studied. In the first period 37.2 per cent of the combined sample were in this class. In the later periods the percentages were 15.3, 13.0 and 14.3. The decline for senators was consistent (57.2, 27.0, 20.0 and 18.7 per cent for the four periods, respectively). The percentage figures for representatives declined from 29.5 in the first to 10.0 in the second, 9.5 in the third, and then rose to 17.0 in the last period. Lawyers again surpassed non-lawyers in the percentage who were professional politicians in all periods of the study.

In view of the increase in the length of congressional service, and the increasing percentage holding no public office after that in the Congress it might be expected that the percentage of professional politicians would increase. But other facts more than offset the effect of these influences. Slight increase in length of life, and increase in age on entering congressional service offset these factors. And the considerable increase in those holding no public office prior and subsequent to congressional service remains to produce a decline in the percentage of professional politicians.

⁷ This term in popular usage is restricted to those who have devoted to political activities practically all, rather than any amount over half, of their gainfully occupied careers. The commonsense notion also undoubtedly includes political party functionaries who devote their careers to politics but who never hold public offices. For the present they are necessarily excluded from consideration.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

Several significant conclusions concerning trends over the period 1800-1919 are revealed by this study: (1) political experience prior to congressional service declined; (2) the age at time of beginning congressional service increased an average of about 5 years; (3) the length of service increased slightly more than one-fourth; (4) the latter part of the occupational career was increasingly that in which the congressional service occurred; (5) the average length of life of congressmen did not materially change; (6) the proportion holding office in the post-congressional period declined very greatly; (7) the percentage dying in office rose; and (8) professional politicians have declined in proportion in the group.

Several of these conclusions may be fairly well understood in the light of the same set of factors. The increasing tendency for congressional service to be in the latter part of the occupational career was of necessity largely due to increased age at beginning of service, to increased length of service and to the fact that average length of life was not changing materially. The proportion holding political office in the post-congressional period declined and the percentage dying in office increased for the same reasons. The decline in percentage of professional politicians is also affected by a combination of increasing percentage of congressmen with no experience in public office prior to congressional service and late entry into the Congress. An apparent counter influence, the considerable increase in local office-holding which would tend to hold up the percentage classifiable as professional politicians, actually does not necessarily oppose the factors in the decline of the professional politician, because a person who would stay in local offices long enough to be professionalized by the service would not as a rule be considered good congressional material.

The conclusions from the study, the explanations of which are not already fairly clear, are thus, first, the increase in local office-holders and those holding no public offices and the decline in state office-holding on the part of congressmen prior to congressional service, second, the increasing age at the start of congressional service, and, third, increasing length of service in the Congress. These, instead of being mutually dependent, seem under some conditions at least to be opposed to each other, since, as age at entering the Congress increases, the length of service should tend to decrease; and at the same time there

should be an increased length of time for state or federal office-holding to take place. The fact that these apparently opposed conclusions appear together suggests that thus far the opposition has not been effective. One way in which the failure to become effective may be explained is on the assumption that the average length of life has been enough greater than the average age of beginning congressional service to permit of the modest increase in length of service. The implication is, however, that the average length of service either must eventually stop increasing, or the average length of life must continue to increase, or the age at beginning congressional service must stop advancing or decrease. It also seems likely that the increase in the number of years before the average congressman begins his congressional service does not markedly affect the factors responsible for state office-holding. Such would probably be the case, if a certain age were a prerequisite but not an important contributing factor to the complete pattern of causation of holding such offices. There is thus no necessity for inferring that the conclusions involving these opposed facts is erroneous because of the impossibility of opposed facts being true.

The pattern of causation of the three unexplained conclusions is not revealed by this exploratory study and nothing beyond a few suggestions may be made. The decline in state office holding prior to congressional service is very probably complex and related to the entire trend of American government. The most obvious possibility is that political machines increasingly are seeking to put forward men who have only a business and professional background or who have held local offices for only a short time. Professional men and men of a variety of non-office-holding backgrounds perhaps are being put forward in some instances because they are experts in some field, such as taxation, others because of reputation for uprightness or because they are believed to be able to attract strength at the polls for other reasons, and still others because they are willing to be mere figure heads or are not intelligent enough to realize that such is their real status. The explanation of the fact that local office-holders are having an increased advantage over the state office-holders is by no means clear and must wait on further research.

Increased age at beginning service in the Congress may also be a reflection of the selection of business men who have made a success great enough to cause them to be put forward by political parties, by reason of wealth, prestige, power, or probable efficiency. The same argument

would apply to the professional man sought because he is an expert. Application to the line of endeavor which contributes most to their selection would explain the fact that they had held no political office and yet were advanced in age. For those who had a local office-holding record the same factors of prestige and wealth may also enter, since length of time the local office was held may have been brief. The increasing age of the population and the increasing length of educational and other preparation also probably have had an effect.

Increased length of service is likewise not easily explained. Strength of party support, greater skill in influencing constituents, better training of legislators, more valuable service in the Congress and more inertia or tolerance on the part of the public may have contributed. The political party organization which may also be responsible for selecting more candidates who have held no offices previously may also be responsible for increasing the length of service, thus giving greater stability to the government.

Several conclusions concerning differences between the various categories of congressmen deserve special attention also: (1) the percentage of representatives holding local offices in the pre-congressional period increased but the proportion of senators in this category decreased; (2) the percentage of all lawyers who held local offices in the pre-congressional period decreased more rapidly than did the corresponding percentage of the total non-law group, although the former were superior in both the state and federal categories; (3) average age of beginning service was fairly similar, except for the first period, for representatives and senators, senators being 2 years older in the first, 3 years in the second, 1 year in the third, and 1 year younger in the last period; (4) there was no appreciable difference between representatives and senators in the increase in length of congressional service; (5) the law group surpassed the non-law group in length of service; (6) there was no clear difference in average or trend of the length of life of representatives and senators; (7) a smaller percentage of senators than of representatives held political offices in the post-congressional period, but the percentage holding federal offices was greater for senators than for representatives; and (8) a larger proportion of senators than representatives were professional politicians in all periods, but the percentage for senators declined more consistently.

Space permits of only the briefest interpretation of each of these

conclusions. First, on the assumption, on the average well justified, that senators have more prestige than representatives, and on the assumption that local office-holding carries little prestige, the divergence of representatives and senators in proportion holding local offices prior to congressional service and senators in proportion holding local offices prior to congressional offices for representatives remains unclear, unless, as may be true, local office-holding has been increasingly considered by the political party organizations and voters alike a good preparation for service as a representative and not so great a handicap in prestige as it would be for a senatorial office. Decline in the proportion of senators who had held only local offices prior to congressional service is plausible, since such offices probably carry adverse prestige for election as a senator.

Second, on the assumption that men with legal training and experience are increasingly recognized as superior congressional material, as well as superior material for state and local office-holding, the superiority of lawyers in these categories is readily understood. It is also probable that lawyers, because of superior training and selection, are less interested in local office-holding and more interested in state and federal public service careers.

Third, the difference in the minimum constitutional age of representatives and senators is more than enough to account for the differences between the average ages of beginning congressional service of representatives and senators. Indeed, this factor is not very effective, as the slight difference between the two groups in age at beginning congressional service indicates. A possible explanation may be the difference in the percentage of members of the two branches of the Congress who held local offices in the pre-congressional period, on the assumption that those congressmen with records of local office-holding are older on entering the Congress than others, possibly because of the difficulty and slowness of the step for those who had held only local offices.

Fourth, there is no reason to suppose that members of one house of the Congress would increase in average length of service more than in the other, and the data accord with the supposition. However, fifth, it is reasonable that lawyers should be superior to non-lawyers in gain in length of service, if the gain is due to greater satisfaction of voters and political machines with lawyer legislators. The lawyers, it should be supposed, would also be more satisfactorily adjusted to the congress-

sional atmosphere and be more ambitious to remain than would the non-lawyers.⁸

Sixth, although the work of the average senator is probably somewhat more difficult than that of the average representative, there is no reason to suppose that a large difference between representatives and senators in average length of life or change in that average would exist. Senators are slightly older on beginning service, serve slightly longer, and more often die in office than is true of representatives, but they live to approximately the same age.

Seventh, the main reason that fewer senators than representatives held political offices in the post-congressional period was the fact that a much larger percentage died before the expiration of the term in the Congress. Another factor probably was the unwillingness to accept an office inferior to the one held in the Congress. The importance of this factor is suggested by the large percentage of those holding office who were given federal positions, including posts in the President's Cabinet and on the Supreme Court. The prestige of the senators probably causes them to be sought after for federal positions more often than is true of representatives.

Eighth, the tendency for senators more often than was true of representatives to be professional politicians was probably due to a number of factors already mentioned. They served in the Congress slightly longer, and, more important, a much smaller percentage had held no public office prior to service in the Congress, while a much larger percentage had held state and federal offices, which usually were preceded by some experience in local offices. The decline in the role of the professional politician, more consistent for senators, is probably due to the gradually increasing tendency to selection of people from business and professional backgrounds with a minimum of public service experience.

The interpretations given for neither set of conclusions should be considered to be fully demonstrated yet. They are more properly hypotheses which will only deserve to be elevated to the level of explanations when sufficient evidence in support of them has been accumulated. Possibly some will be discovered to have missed the mark, but if they encourage further investigation, they will have served their purpose.

⁸ This interpretation is not contradictory to the above-mentioned fact that lawyers were declining in proportion among the congressmen. Lawyers who enter the Congress may still be more satisfactory to voters and to political machines and make better personal adjustments at the same time that a combination of circumstances causes a decline in the percentage of lawyers who begin congressional careers.

Two of the most significant sorts of research indicated by this analysis are the relative prestige of representatives and senators and of lawyers and non-lawyers in the opinion of the actual voters and of those influencing their vote in each generation. Probably of more practical aid, however, for discovering the explanation of these conclusions would be intimate details of the selection of candidates by parties and the means of influencing their election. These suggestions rest, in turn, on the hypothesis that the conclusions are not due to chance factors, but actually reflect factors in the selection of these popular representatives, a hypothesis justified by the generally clear-cut nature of the data on which the conclusions rest.

City Planning and Housing, the First Line of Advance*

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Taking into consideration the staggering results of modern war machinery, representing the last word of industry and technical science, we might as well wonder if not exactly the same efficiency will be employed one day for the sake of *rebuilding*, not only what is being so ingeniously destroyed beyond repair, but also the entire physical side of our urban and rural communities.

If it proves to be true that the scientific laboratory is the birthplace of our future, it certainly does not hold only for the matter of atom smashing to which the next advances are mainly attributed. It is equally true in regard to city planning and housing. *The demand of the hour is the establishment of an elaborate program for professional research in regard to city planning and housing under a coordinating agency composed of men with vision and courage from every field involved.* City planning and housing constitute comparatively new efforts of science, and, therefore, need more attention and facilities than other well established branches of research. It would be unwise to expect results of deep significance without making proper allowances for the necessary long range research work. The establishment of a policy in the field of regional-city-county planning and housing must be preceded by scientific exploration.

We probably stand on the threshold of a far-reaching change in building as well as in other techniques. Our being able to use, in a logical manner, the results of scientific research rests on our ability to make up our minds with respect to the margin of their desirability. We need a scientifically impartial explanation of what is to be considered desirable housing and city planning and what is not, under the postulate that we want to assist evolution to develop man to his greatest capacity. The outcome of housing and city planning as a cultural factor is inevitably bound to the right answer to those questions. The architect and city planner have to rely on those facts, otherwise they are com-

* Excerpts from a paper presented in March, 1941. Bureau of Eng. Research, the Univ. of Texas.

pelled to continue work to their own ultimate dissatisfaction and to the detriment of housing and city planning.¹

It is impossible to separate the scope of city planning and housing from the regional problems of shifting populations, economic and cultural demands, as well as from health and recreational questions, to name only a few of the more remote aspects. The new science of *regionalism* is also an indispensable part of it. Based primarily on social science and anthropology, it should facilitate and help to provide a *cultural background* for all planning and housing activities which has been so obviously lacking during recent times. The general scientific trend in regionalism is based not only on research of the archaeologist, the sociologist, and the anthropologist, but also of the economist, the geographer, the ecologist, and the political scientist. Regionalism could, therefore, serve well as a cultural setting in a coordinating capacity for contemporary planning and housing. It may prove to be the way for a better appreciation of the past, thus relating more logically to the development of the future. It may also make for a better cooperation between the social and physical sciences so badly needed for modern civilization. Regionalism thus forms a very practical problem of any planning and housing policy. But the reciprocal relationships and differences in regionalism are only revealed by tracing all its international and national trends to their sources.

The culture of a certain area is reflected not only in social conditions, but also in technological achievements and mental behavior. Without going into the central theme of political research, we have to consider for our purpose the advanced theory of the human unit in its relation to the spirit of neighborhood which is bound to the region but disappears over larger areas. France, up to her recent political change, provides a good example of a policy based on the political philosophy of regionalism. It made possible and protected the local unit against the ambitions of the larger national unit.

We must realize that political and administrative borderlines grow out of historical developments of a nation, slowly becoming law and tradition. After the Industrial Revolution, they continued in their existing status for some time, until conflicting principles become now apparent and ask for a reshaping of the region according to its changed social pattern. *This now relates to our particular problem which is so badly in need of constructive ideas for the process of reshaping.*

¹ Leipziger, *The Practical Problem of Housing*.

The history of Architecture in regard to housing and city planning must be studied from this angle. The local community of pre-industrial society, which is patterned after the traditional family group, has been sacrificed for the good of a larger kind of centralization, the metropolitan region with its division of labor. Although this consideration seems to have little connection with our problem, it will show its basic importance for the conception of regional, city, and county planning.

The Post-War Problem.

It is well understood that the defense emergency will bring relief from unemployment, but it will by no means solve existing economic problems fundamentally. In recognition of this the economists are already looking ahead with a view to what can be done to prevent a new wave of depression, which seems quite likely to follow the present emergency trend. There is not much doubt that a war-torn and worn-out Europe will keep production and export of the United States running at high speed for quite a while after the war is over. But a long-range policy in city planning and housing can not fail to forestall an eventual slump, while at the same time, living standards will be effectively raised. A statement which commands our attention was made recently by Mr. Nathan Straus, the Administrator of The United States Housing Authority to the American Federation of Labor. In this suggestion a housing program, beginning when the emergency ends, was mentioned which would continue over a number of years. Each year would call for approximately five hundred thousand dwelling units. Such a plan would have great beneficial effects from many angles, besides relieving a probable economic depression. *But, at the same time, it would require genuine efforts for the solution of such a huge problem.* This should be the *beginning for a concerted long range policy of a constructive nature* which would be reflected in all walks of life.

After many years of experimenting and struggling an episode of vigorous housing and planning activities has closed, and it seems indispensable for the success of any future activity in this field, wherever it may be undertaken, to examine and study the record of those past accomplishments. Only by analysis and comparison can a thorough knowledge be obtained as guarantee for avoiding fundamental errors. There seems to be no obvious reason for the repetition of mistakes which have been made over and over again. But there is *no other alternative to the scientific method* for escaping such a danger.

In this connection we might look for a moment at different theories of city planning. Frank Lloyd Wright and LeCorbusier are the exponents of two schools of thought which are diametrically opposed to each other. Frank Lloyd Wright in his project—"Broad Acre City"—considers the human individual as the measure by which architecture and city planning should be gauged. He points out that the *ground* is the basic element for the development of man's freedom. Each family unit, now comprising the city and farm population, should become self-sustaining by individual farming. These units although highly decentralized, would be organized on a cooperative basis. This resembles in principle the Japanese or Chinese village community where the planning is equivalent to organic growth. Based on the fact of rapidly decreasing distances, Frank Lloyd Wright suggests a minimum of one acre per person as a limit for population density.

Walt Whitman in several articles in "Life Illustrated" advocated similar trends. In his casual writings on housing conditions entitled "New York Dissected" and "Decent Homes for Working Men" he put great emphasis on the "Typical American" who, in his opinion, was still the small independent farmer. His attention at that time was equally divided between the American farmer's moral and spiritual growth and the amelioration of his housing conditions. If and how far he might have been influenced by a parallel movement of thought in England of which William Morris was the exponent is difficult to determine. The idea of the fraternal spirit is also closely linked to his humanitarian poetry, giving constructive expression to his criticism of the social ills of his day. He writes about housing conditions: "Not wicked in carelessness of material . . . but in the unrighteous spirit of ostentation that unconsciously directs it, and in the manifold and frightful social evils flowing from it. It is in some sense true that a man is not a whole and complete man unless he owns a house and the ground it stands on. Each man was intended to possess his piece of this earth; and however the modifications of civilized life have covered this truth or changed the present face of it, it is still indicated by the universal instinctive desire for landed property, and by the fullest sense of independent manhood which come from the possession of it." This was written in 1856.

LeCorbusier has attempted to derive from contemporary scientific thought a basis for city planning and housing. His many writings on

the subject however close with the theory that population should be concentrated in centers of 400 persons to the acre. We can easily see the enormous difference between the two schemes. LeCorbusier rejects the idea of suburban settlements and garden cities along with the disorderliness of our cities, although he shares with Frank Lloyd Wright the ultimate goal of bringing the city dweller as close as possible to nature. He discounts "the dream of individual liberty" as an "unrealizable dream." He rather suggests a blending between "the liberty of the individual and the collective energy of the community in a balanced harmony." His project for the rebuilding of central Paris illustrates this theory. The "Ville Radieuse" is another example of "a city consecrated to the fundamental needs and satisfaction of the human heart." He wants to eliminate the great inefficiency of our cities and direct "architecture toward a synthesis of aims." With twenty per cent of the ground reserved for buildings, he wants to leave eighty per cent free for landscaping in the interest of the requirements of leisure which form a key note in his plans. The construction of exceedingly high buildings by the utmost utilization of modern technique is from his point of view the only logical solution.

There seems to be no reconciliation possible between "Broad Acre City" and LeCorbusier's theory, since in both cases no compromises are feasible. The one is the antithesis of the other. Both make use of science to support strictly opposite views. But the issue is of utmost importance in dealing with our housing conditions. The human being individually and socially has to be taken care of by methods which must make use of the outcome of scientific research in all relevant fields. Alvar Aalto can only have this in mind when he speaks of "the humanizing of architecture." He rejects purely technical functionalism and insists that the function of architecture must coincide with human functions. But he does not favor "solely analytical" methods of scientific research for the achievement of this goal. He submits the essentially artistic predominance of architecture as "a synthetic phenomenon."²

Modern Architecture has produced highly contradictory theories of city planning and housing, but that is in conformity with all other scientific or artistic branches in their respective fields. Since what to do is not known our main attention is focussed around the creation of a workable base from which we might successfully start with our work.

² *The Architectural Forum*, December, 1940.

An answer that can lead us out of all the confusion must be based on the statement of Leonardo da Vinci, that art becomes more and more scientific and science more and more artistic the further they advance. This in principle has been endorsed very significantly by Dr. Alexis Carrel for real progress in medicine. In other words, the one without the other must fail sooner or later to fulfill the organic requirements of man, which is the primary task of science and art. Contemporary attempts in city planning and housing must, therefore, take into consideration those organic requirements, which have mental as well as physical implications. This historically well known principle is not sufficiently understood in our epoch.

Talbot Hamlin in a recent article emphasizes Lewis Mumford's efforts for a new approach to city planning and housing. He also pays tribute to the late Sir Raymond Unwin who is responsible for the growth of city planning as a new science. His article ends with the recognition of the British architects' point of view that "the application of science to architecture in the broadest possible way," together with "land planning" form the "two most important of post-war architectural problems." And, he continues, "I can see no other problems of greater importance here in the United States."³

The implication that scientific research is our new culture trait does not necessarily mean that it is always of a civilizing nature. Only the spirit in which it is conducted and used makes it humanly valuable. Creative application of scientific research is an imperative demand for the continuation of progress. City planning and housing like other subjects have to be viewed also from this angle rather than solely from that of statistical elaborations and technical advances. The inevitable industrialization of housing will provide such matters as air conditioning, dishwashing machines, and all sorts of technical devices; in other words, more comfort. But we shall have to think of something on a higher plane in order to ameliorate our dwelling conditions decisively.

"*Humanizing*" our housing can only mean to individualize it, in the sense of the Japanese house which affords individuality to its inhabitants in the form of the Tokonoma. This simply consists of a separate room or niche for the display and enjoyment of art creations on the occasion of the highly refined tea ceremony. The idea of the Tokonoma, which came originally from China, together with the garden element, plays

³ *Pencil Point* March, 1941.

a highly esthetic role in *every* Japanese house, thus setting high standards for the pursuit of recreation and leisure in the individual's daily routine.

"*Humanizing*" city planning or the physical set-up of urban and rural communities also can only mean to take care of the physical and mental needs of all the individuals that compose it. The extent to which this can be achieved shows the qualitative level of a civilization's living standards. The creation of these environmental factors are not less important than automatic safety in traffic. This is done by translating experimental and statistical research facts into the kind of city planning which promises most for human betterment.

Sweden, among the other Scandinavian countries, is an excellent example of the success of a social policy based upon the application of scientific research in the physical and social sciences. These countries with a well established record of democratic achievements have produced a *cooperative spirit which is carried on by individual initiative*. A general housing policy is part of the greater population policy which offers to all social classes education, recreation, maternal care, health centers and preventive medicine, as well as cultural facilities in rural and urban communities.

In his address on "The Idea of a World Encyclopaedia" at the Royal Institution in 1936, H. G. Wells said it is necessary to "enlighten science and not men of science." He wants science to follow a coherent and consistent scheme, instead of pursuing isolated and disconnected details. In "The Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind," which appeared in 1932, he did not add much of interest to the matter of city planning and housing, beyond stating the technological progress. He had more to say about this thirty years before in his "Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought," published in 1902. At this time, he predicted the diffusion of our great cities. Instead, all of Great Britain south of the Highlands would become an "urban region," each district differing from the other in physical appearance. All boundaries between city and country would disappear gradually, leaving horticulture and agriculture within the urban regions, the country in turn acquiring many qualities of the city. Thus would end the transitory state of the modern city.

During the years preceding this war, Great Britain and other countries experimented with part-time farming for single family units. This

resulted in the town-country idea of an inter-woven pattern. It tries to get the best from the town as well as from the country. Those very promising experiments have not yielded convincing results, but, together with those theoretic considerations mentioned above, they will play a very important part in the further developments.

In the present emergency, one's attention is naturally drawn to those great efforts which the British government and people are forced to make to rebuild their battered cities. Thinking back for only a few years, London's seemingly insoluble housing problems come to mind. R. Sinclair in *The Big City* has described them vividly in the "Sixty-Year Plan." This was considered as a remedy for the house-starvation which for several generations had blighted the majority of Londoners. Here the obvious ineffectiveness of this plan was blamed on more than a hundred authorities that had their way about changing policies in Housing Acts several times since 1909. He concludes, "Most reforms have to wait until the natural inertia of dozens of well-meaning bodies has been overcome. It is only on the flood tide of disaster that reform comes quickly." The formation of a Ministry of Building in Great Britain last year appears to be an eloquent confession of the truth of this somber warning. This controlling and coordinating authority is assured of the eager cooperation on the part of the profession. Born out of the emergency to guide the Government's war-time building, it makes fullest use of the profession's training and experience because "the nation should even for its smallest houses have the highest available architectural skill."

City planning and housing asks for a "strategical" as well as for a "tactical approach" calling into service the forces of science, art, and technology. The "hit and miss" methods which were used so enthusiastically without the backbone of scientific research are definitely on the decline.

It seems that art alone is no longer able to discover that satisfaction of spiritual wants which previous epochs have sought and found in it. We recognize also that specialization is a new and vital part of science although we are inclined to think that this new method has deflated our instinctive artistic knowledge of former days. Yet in turn it has enabled us to substitute for that lost faculty a growing consciousness of nature's processes for the good of mankind's continuous progress. It seems that our unique culture trait is *scientific research*. In other words, insofar as our subject is concerned city planning and housing

should mean more than the mere inclusion of all available technical ingenuity in the plan. It must also satisfy the spiritual awareness of man, which in turn is to be viewed scientifically.⁴

At least we have arrived at a point where we no longer pretend to be able to cope with this vast problem without a fundamental revaluation of ways and means. We cannot leave this important task to hazardous methods. To admit this frankly would free us for new efforts. Such efforts have begun in Great Britain and the United States, but there is a long way ahead of us. Fortunately all the distorted ideas of city planning and housing which have given rise to a romantic attitude of "sentiment without reason" are beginning to disappear gradually. City planning and housing is based on a sincere recognition of scientifically demonstrable facts obtained by the slow process of laboratory research, supported by practical experience. This as a principle does not constitute any new approach to scientific problems. We are only on the threshold of the knowledge for planning our social environment in agriculture, communities, the countryside, or industries. The efforts of many specialists and study groups will be required in an organized effort to arrive at fundamental laws from which functional and regional variations can be derived.

The League of Nations, shortly before its decision to retire indefinitely, published two laborious and comprehensive reports on the general improvement of housing conditions which resulted from efforts between the last war and now. Experts from the United States, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium have participated as members of a special commission of the League of Nations. They attempted to collect all available material which might benefit future developments in city planning and housing from the social and technical viewpoint.

The "Definition of Health, Urban and Rural Dwellings as well as Healthy Cities and Rural Areas" was the main topic of the Commission's undertaking. We have here an attempt of much greater scope than the word hygiene implies. At least, it takes for granted the fact that we are still incompetent to cope efficiently with our housing and planning problems. The League of Nations' experts of international renown proceeded in an effective manner, but the task was left unfinished on account of the League of Nations' retirement. Thus, the

⁴ Leipziger, *op. cit.*

commission shares the same fate with two other organizations, the "International Congress for New Building" and the "International Housing Association." Although suspended now, their achievements will remain of great value.

The different national problems of planning and housing are not dissimilar in their scope. The British, for example, have already conceived a program for their commonwealth despite the fact that they live now in a state of the greatest possible emergency. *The aspect of post-war housing and city planning must be viewed as a world-wide scientific and cultural task*, although national applications will necessarily spring from national rather than international considerations. The outcome of further scientific research, therefore, is the only authoritative source for reliable results in this field.

The Significance of Reported Trends in Louisiana Agriculture

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As the results of the 1940 Census of Population and Agriculture become available a host of workers are plunging into the task of extracting from the mass of data the significant facts, relationships, and trends. It is well that this is the case. These are greatly needed as basic guideposts in the formation of community, state, and national policy. Undoubtedly the U. S. Census of Population and Agriculture constitutes the largest, most complete, and most reliable mass of data available to the social scientist; it deserves a great deal more use than is made of it. Nevertheless, there are many pitfalls to beware of before one makes use of Census data; and there are many essential reforms of Census definition and practice that must be made before the data will have the validity and applicability that one has a reasonable right to expect of them.

THE PROBLEM

At the present time some of the accepted Census practices are working an undue hardship upon the researcher who is employed in or assigned to one of the southern states. Particularly distressing is the unfortunate and illogical practice of classifying the southern share cropper as a farm operator and tenant. It has long been contended that this procedure wrenches the agricultural data collected into a form that has little if any correspondence with reality.¹ In large parts of the South, particularly in the fertile river bottoms and deltas, the actual operating agricultural unit is the plantation. In these large-scale undertakings, the manual work is done by laborers, many of whom are Negroes. Sometimes these workers are paid a cash wage and at other times or places they are paid a share of the crop (nominally one-half) in which case the workers are referred to as half-hands, croppers, or share croppers, and "tenants." Although theoretically they share in the risks of

¹ See Alfred H. Stone, "The Negro and Agricultural Development," *The Annals*, XXV (1910), p. 15; cf. Karl Brandt, "Fallacious Census Terminology and Its Consequence in Agriculture," *Social Research*, V (1938), p. 31, and T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940, pp. 265-272.

a small crop or the profits of a large one, it is stretching the imagination to the breaking point to conceive of them as entrepreneurs or farm operators. The mere suggestion that they are renters meets with a vigorous denial.

Despite this, for Census purposes the actual operating unit, the plantation, is carved up into as many "tenant-operated farms" as there are families of share croppers on the place. To add still further to the confusion, a comparable procedure is not followed for the plantations that are operated on a cash wage basis. In these cases the plantation is counted as one farm. Since the workers on a given plantation may work part of the year on a cash basis and the remainder on a share basis, and since a given plantation may very suddenly shift from one method of paying wages to another, it should be readily apparent how the Census procedure fails to portray the reality at a given time. Furthermore, this way of doing things offers unlimited opportunity for discovering and reporting of "trends!"² The change of a single large plantation operated on the share wage system in 1930 to a cash wage basis in 1940 can completely revolutionize the data respecting number of farms, average size of farms, and percentage of tenancy for an entire county. Before anyone makes use of Census data for the southern states he should consider the extent to which the figures on the number of farms, the size of farms, the percentages of tenancy or ownership, the average value of farm land and buildings, the average production per farm and all similar compilations and computations are vitiated by the malpractice of classifying the share cropper or half-hand as a farm operator and tenant. More than any other single thing this handicaps the southern scholar in his attempt to extract meaningful summarizations of fact and significant relationships and trends from the data collected in the Census of Agriculture.

THE REPORTED CHANGES IN LOUISIANA AGRICULTURE

Since the problem is well exemplified by the situation in Louisiana, the following analysis is presented in an attempt to clarify the matter and show more precisely how the data for the South should be in-

² During the last decade those interested in land reform were able to arouse widespread alarm about the mounting percentages of tenancy in the United States. To many of them it was very discomfoting to find that the percentage did not continue to rise to 1935 and to 1940. However, the failure of the index to rise reflects not that the situation with respect to the concentration of land ownership and operation is on the mend, but merely the confused practices of Census accounting.

terpreted. For purposes of illustration it should suffice to deal with what are probably the three most significant topics: (1) the number of farms; (2) the average size of farms; and (3) the proportions of tenancy. Within these limits reported Louisiana data and trends needing clarification are the following: (1) a reported decrease in number of farms from 161,445 in 1930 to 150,007 in 1940 (7.1 per cent); (2) a reported increase in the average size of farm from 57.9 acres in 1930 to 66.6 acres in 1940; and (3) a reported decrease in the proportion of tenancy from 66.6 in 1930 to 59.4 in 1940.

Number of Farms. Of what significance are the differences in the reported number of farms in 1930 and 1940? According to the reports of the Agricultural Census, Louisiana farms decreased in number from 161,445 on April 1, 1930 to 150,007 on April 1, 1940.³ This represents a reported loss of 11,438 (7.1 per cent) in the decade. Several considerations must be taken into account in arriving at a valid conclusion with respect to the significance of this reported change.

(1) The reported decrease in Louisiana farms is confined to those operated by non-white or colored persons. Farms reported as having white operators actually increased from 87,675 in 1930 to 90,423 in 1940. This reported increase of 2,748 is equal to 3.1 per cent. Therefore, all of the reported decrease is to be sought in the category operated by non-whites, where the number of farms reported fell from 73,770 in 1930 to only 59,584 in 1940. This is a loss of 14,186 or almost one-fifth of farms having colored operators. Thus the explanation of the "decrease" in farms must be sought among the units reported as having colored operators.

(2) The number of farms operated by owners has not fallen off. Owner-operated farms actually became more numerous in Louisiana between 1930 and 1940. The Census differentiates between two categories of farms in this class, i.e., the units operated by those who own all the land they operate and those who own part and rent the remainder of the land they use in agricultural operations. The number of full owner-operators increased by 6,043 between 1930 and 1940, a gain of 12.9 per cent. Significantly this increase was characteristic of both races, white owner-operated farms gaining 5,303 (13.9 per cent) and non-white 740 (8.4 per cent). The rate of increase was even more

³ The data for the decade 1930 to 1940 are used because it seems fairly certain that those secured in the special Agricultural Census of 1935 are not comparable with those taken in the regular Census enumerations.

rapid in part owners who numbered 1,110 more (17.7 per cent) in 1940 than in 1930. In this case, however, the gain 1,166 (25.6 per cent) was confined to white operators; the non-whites fell off by 56 or 3.3 per cent.

Since farms operated by managers are not very numerous in Louisiana (they did decrease from 735 in 1930 to 528 in 1940), the data given above mean that the reported decrease in Louisiana farms must be accounted for by a falling off in the number of farms operated by Negro tenants.

Average Size of Farms. The reported decrease in number of farms is further clarified by observation of the data concerning size of farms. Other things being equal, a change from share-crop to cash wages should be reflected in an increase in the average size of farms. Thus it is important that there has been no reduction in "land in farms" and no significant decline in the amount of "crop land harvested" accompanying the reported decrease in number of farms. Whereas the number of reported farms decreased by 7.1 per cent between 1930 and 1940, the amount of land in farms actually increased from 9,355,437 acres in 1930 to 9,996,108 acres in 1940, a gain of 640,671 acres or 6.8 per cent. This absolute increase in the number of acres reported combined with the decreased number of farms enumerated caused the average size of farm to increase from 57.9 acres in 1930 to 66.6 acres in 1940.

Taken at their face value the data would also indicate a marked decrease in the importance of the non-white farm operator and an increased importance of the white Louisiana farm operator. This is in line with the hypothesis of this study. When the Negro worker is paid on a share-crop basis the Census counts the land as Negro operated, when he is paid a cash wage it is counted in the acres operated by the white planter. During the decade under consideration the acreage reported in white operated farms increased by 1,027,632 (14.6 per cent), while that in colored operated farms decreased by 386,961 (16.7 per cent). This change is significant if real, of less consequence if a mere reflection of a shift from share-of-the-crop to cash wages.

The amount of Louisiana farm land used for crops (crop land harvested plus acres on which crops failed) changed little during the decade, decreasing slightly from 4,197,867 acres reported for 1929 to 4,112,020 reported for 1939. However, this loss of 85,847 acres was more than offset by an increase of over a million acres (a change from

915,839 acres in 1929 to 1,442,636 acres in 1939) of plowable pasture.⁴ These data should make it apparent that there has been no decrease in Louisiana's agricultural enterprises commensurate with the reported decrease in number of farms. When fewer workers are paid on a share basis, there are fewer "operators" to divide into the acreage operated and the average size of farm goes up. A reversal towards share wages would cause the average size of farms to decrease.

Decline in Tenancy. If one were to accept the Census reports at their face value he would conclude that there has been a marked improvement in tenure relationships in the state for the proportion of tenancy which stood at 66.6 in 1930 has declined rapidly to only 59.4 in 1940. However, this also may mean little or nothing if it is a mere reflection of a change from share wages to cash wages. As indicated below it seems to be largely this, and furthermore to be confined to the plantation areas of the state.

CHANGES IN VARIOUS TYPES OF FARMING AREAS

As stated above it is the contention of this paper that the reported changes in number of farms, number of farm operators, average sizes of farms, and percentages of tenancy are of little or no significance. These reported changes are merely the result of ambiguities introduced by a very inadequate Census procedure in dealing with the southern share cropper and the plot of ground to which he and his family are assigned. If this is the case, the decreases in number of farms, the increases in the average size of farms, and the decrease in proportion of tenancy should be most pronounced in cotton plantation areas, less pronounced or lacking in small farming cotton areas and in non-cotton sections. That this is the case can be easily verified. Consider the changes in each of Louisiana's five principal type-of-farming areas.

The Rice Area. Five Louisiana parishes (Acadia, Allen, Calcasieu, Jefferson Davis, and Vermillion) are primarily dependent upon rice. In the area within these five parishes the number of farms was constant (12,076 in 1930 and 12,072 in 1940), the average size of farm also was virtually constant (95 acres in 1930 and 97 in 1940), and the per-

⁴ This is the logical result of a reduction in cotton acreages and an increase in livestock. Cattle and calves reported jumped from 618,503 in 1930 to 1,051,901 in 1939, and very likely even the latter figure is a serious understatement. See Marcel Voorhies, *A Study to Establish Correcting Factors to Correct the Bias Existing in the Census Figures Giving the Livestock Population by Parishes in the State of Louisiana*, Master's Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1935.

centage of tenancy, far from decreasing, rose from 52.9 in 1930 to 57.2 in 1940. Thus the rice area is not responsible for the apparent decrease of farms, increase in size of farms, and decrease of farm tenancy.

The Sugar Bowl. The state's "sugar bowl" embraces the major portions of eleven parishes (Ascension, Assumption, Iberia, Iberville, Lafourche, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, and West Baton Rouge). In these predominantly sugar parishes the plantation also prevails, but the device of share wages is almost entirely absent. Customary is the payment of a cash wage. In this area the number of farms increased sharply from 8,939 in 1930 to 9,997 in 1940 (11.8 per cent); the average size of farm went counter to that reported for the state, and decreased from 130 acres in 1930 to 112 acres in 1940; and the percentage of tenancy increased from 48.2 to 50.1. Since in each of the three features under consideration the trends in the sugar parishes are directly contrary to those for the state as a whole they cannot be used to explain the state trends.

Small Fruits and Vegetables. A third portion of the state is given over largely to the production of small fruits and vegetables. Seven parishes (Jefferson, Livingston, Plaquemines, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. Tammany, and Tangipahoa) are primarily dependent upon these crops. In them the number of farms increased somewhat from 8,761 in 1930 to 9,178 (5 per cent); the average size of farm increased slightly (from 45 acres in 1930 to 49 acres in 1940), and the percentage of tenancy already low (36.9) in 1930 decreased to 32.3 in 1940.

These three areas, the rice, cane, and small fruits and vegetables producing sections of the state do not give trends in number of farms, average size of farms, or proportions of tenancy consistent with those reported for the state as a whole. Therefore, one must look to the cotton areas for changes that will offset the trends observed and account for the reported state trends.

Non-Plantation Cotton. Good land, the plantation, and the Negro are dominant in the deltas or river bottoms of Louisiana and the South. Unfortunately for our purposes political boundaries do not coincide exactly with topographical features. However, it is possible to use objective criteria in separating the plantation parishes from other cotton producing sections. For present purposes all parishes in which the Census of 1930 reported 1,000 or more croppers were classed as plantation, the remaining cotton parishes as non-plantation. This procedure iden-

tifies the following as plantation parishes: Avoyelles, Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, DeSoto, East Carroll, Franklin, Lafayette, Lincoln, Madison, Morehouse, Natchitoches, Ouachita, Rapides, Red River, Richland, St. Landry, Tensas, Union, Webster, and West Carroll. The eighteen non-plantation, or those cotton parishes containing less than 1,000 croppers, are as follows: Beauregard, Caldwell, Cameron, Catahoula, Concordia, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, Evangeline, Grant, Jackson, LaSalle, Pointe Coupee, Sabine, St. Helena, Vernon, Washington, West Feliciana, and Winn. Such a division of the cotton producing portion of the state offers a fairly satisfactory way of determining the extent to which changes in numbers of farms, average size of farm, and proportion of tenancy are associated with the cropper system that is so characteristic of plantation sections in Louisiana and in the South.

In the eighteen non-plantation cotton parishes enumerated above the number of farms remained almost constant during the decade under consideration, declining one per cent from 35,491 in 1930 to 35,130 in 1940. In the meantime the average size of farm increased from 62 acres in 1930 to 67 acres in 1940, while the percentage of tenancy fell from 57.9 in 1930 to 51.6 in 1940. Even here in these cotton growing parishes the decrease of 1,144 (15 per cent) croppers from 7,454 in 1930 to 6,310 in 1940 is more than sufficient to account for the decrease in number of farms, the increased size of farm, and the decreased proportion of tenancy.

Plantation Cotton. But it is in the areas where the plantation and its cropper system flourish that were manifest the real influences determining the reported trends in the state. In the 22 parishes containing 1,000 or more croppers the number of farms fell precipitously from 95,980 in 1930 to 83,431 in 1940.⁵ This amounts to a loss of 12,549 farms or 13.1 per cent. This was accompanied by an increase of 460,894 acres, more than 10 per cent, in the amount of land in farms. As a consequence of the decreased number of farms and the increased amount of land in farms, the average size of farm in these parishes increased from

⁵ Had it not been for the buoying effect of "new ground settlement" in the area, the reported decline in number of farms would have been even more drastic. See Phillip E. Jones, John E. Mason, and Joseph T. Elvove, *New Settlement in the Northeastern Louisiana Delta* (mimeographed), Baton Rouge, La., 1940; Homer L. Hitt, "Migration Among Delta Farmers," *Louisiana Rural Economist*, October, 1941; and H. C. Hoffsommer, *New Ground Farmers in the Mississippi River Delta* (mimeographed), U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1941.

46 acres in 1930 to 59 acres in 1940. The reported proportion of tenancy fell from 75.5 at the beginning of the decade to 66.5 at the close.

These changes in the plantation cotton sections are by themselves sufficient to account for most of the changes in the state. Whereas the state as a whole lost 11,438 farms (7.1 per cent), these 22 plantation cotton parishes alone lost 12,549 (13.1 per cent). The reported increase in size of farm was only 8.7 acres in the state, compared with 13 acres in these 22 parishes. And the reported reduction in proportion of tenancy in the state was only 7.2 points, from 66.6 in 1930 to 59.4 in 1940, while in these plantation areas the proportion fell off nine points from 75.5 in 1930 to 66.5 in 1940. In terms of absolute numbers the owners and part-owners increased in these plantation areas from 23,272 in 1930 to 26,673 in 1940, a gain of 14.6 per cent. In the meantime "tenants" decreased from 72,482 in 1930 to 56,503 in 1940, a loss of 15,979 or 22.0 per cent. (Of these the reported decrease in croppers accounted for a total of 7,188.) Since the number of "tenants" in the entire state fell off by 18,384, it is evident that the bulk of its decrease (87 per cent) is due to the changes in the 22 cotton plantation parishes.

CONCLUSION

These data make it evident that the reported agricultural trends in the state have little or no similarity or relationship to changes outside the cotton areas or even outside the plantation parts of the cotton growing sections. Louisiana trends in the reported number of farms, the average size of farms, and in the proportion of tenancy were determined by what happened on the cotton plantations. This was possible only because of the misguided Census practice of identifying the share cropper as a tenant and therefore a farm operator. Consequently when in the plantation sections of Louisiana (and in the other southern states) forces such as the mechanization of agriculture and the cotton control program brought about a transfer of labor from a share wage to a cash wage, the number of "farms" decreased, the average size of farms seemed to increase, and there was reported a tremendous drop in tenancy. Actually these reported changes probably mean very little. Most certainly they should not be interpreted as progress in the solution of the problems of the South's overburdened agriculture or improvement in its system of land tenure.

What changes in Census procedure are necessary to rectify the situa-

tion and make possible the collection of more reliable and meaningful data? One change alone would bring about a tremendous improvement. Only farm owners, farm managers, and farm *renters* should be included in the category of farm operators. The farm "tenant" who cannot qualify as a renter (standing, share, or cash) should be relegated to the category of farm laborers; the land worked by him should not be counted as a farm. Such a procedure would be comparable with the practices of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and other federal agencies that deal directly with the farm population.

Strategic Material Supplies

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It is obvious in the present state of international affairs that the critical attention of the people of the United States should be turned to the economic problems, immediate and distant, of total war.¹ This paper seeks to point out some of the factors of strength and weakness which derive from the facts of our national situation, and is concerned with those materials, raw, finished, or partly fabricated, which affect our real and potential war efficiency in unusual degree and are termed "strategic."

It must be made clear that the word "strategic," when employed as an adjective applied to materials, possesses two meanings, the one general, the other specific. In general, strategic materials include all those exceptionally important to the prosecution of national aims, whether in peace or in war. In the specific sense, the word strategic refers to a definite group of war-effort materials of exceptional or vital importance to the national existence or desires as such may be responsibly interpreted. The joint Army and Navy Munitions Board has been studying the question of materials supply in this sense for many years. As a result of this study, a threefold classification has been set up, including "Strategic Materials," "Critical Materials,"² and, of less pressing importance, "Other

¹ Viewed dispassionately, total war simply intends an optimum application of all national resources toward a successful prosecution of established aims by means of the ultimate social appeal—superior force. In these times it seems that to wage war successfully, whether in a belligerent or "nonbelligerent" state, there must be presumed a recognition that any and all blows aimed at the continuity of the hostile political-social-economic-military order are in line.

² Under this system of classification, "strategic materials" may be defined as "those essential to national defense, for the supply of which in war dependence must be placed in whole, or in substantial part, on sources outside the continental limits of the United States; and for which strict conservation and distribution control measures will be necessary."

"Critical materials" may be defined as "those essential to national defense, the procurement problems of which in war would be less difficult than those of strategic materials either because they have a lesser degree of essentiality or are obtainable in more adequate quantities from domestic sources; and for which some degree of conservation and distribution control will be necessary."

For details, see: Army and Navy Munitions Board, "The Strategic and Critical Materials," March 1940 (mimeograph), 3. "Important materials" is made up of a group of

important materials."³ A late report of the Army and Navy Munitions Board lists the following supplies in the two most important classes given above:

Strategic Materials

Antimony	Mercury	Rubber
Chromium	Mica	Tin
Coconut Shell Char	Nickel	Silk
Manganese, ferrograde	Quartz Crystal	Tungsten
Manila Fiber	Quinine	

Critical Materials

Aluminum	Iodine	Platinum
Asbestos	Kapok	Tanning Materials
Cork	Opium	Toluol
Graphite	Optical Glass	Vanadium
Hides	Phenol	Wool

Such lists being subject to continual change due to technical advance and other reasons, it is entirely possible that the items just presented do not give a proper picture of our present materials supply problems. For instance, coconut shell char and aluminum might change places, as might for immediate practical purposes nickel and toluol.

In looking at the situation broadly, the United States unquestionably occupies a more favorable situation than that of any other nation in the world as far as domestic supplies of strategic and critical materials may be concerned. While we concentrate very properly on our deficiencies, relatively speaking only two other nations in the world, the U. S. S. R., and the British Empire as an entity, seem to possess even a remote possibility of equalling our supply of most of the things necessary to fight a modern war successfully. As long as the interests of the British Empire and the United States seem parallel, the complementary nature of production of critical and strategic supplies in the two countries, if con-

residues, kept under surveillance and which might, under certain conditions become either strategic or critical. Ordinarily, however, it is presumed that these materials will not be a matter of vital concern under any reasonable military circumstances.

It must be pointed out, in addition, that the difference between a strategic and critical material is more quantitative than qualitative. Certain changes in international relations or technical advances (for instance silk, now considered a strategic material may conceivably, due to the emergence of the nylon industry, become unimportant in defense), could easily move a material up in importance or cause it to slip to unimportance. Nor should the reader assume that all supplies not carried on a governmental list have nothing to do with maintenance of the domestic economy or prosecution of a war effort.

³ Ibid. "Other important materials" include: abrasives, acetone, beryllium, cobalt, ethyl alcohol, molybdenum, magnesium, nitrogen compounds, refractories, uranium, and zirconium.

tinued control of the high seas may be assumed, largely eliminates the possibility of serious shortage. The only products in the two lists not easily within the immediate control of either the British Empire or the United States are cork and silk. Domestic supplies considered, neither of them can be termed absolutely vital although their lack would be an embarrassment.

Certain comments may be made on the American supply position in the light of the present situation:

1. A broad view of national interest may bring us to purchase certain commodities from abroad, even though such goods are producible at home or elsewhere at the same or a lesser cost or substitute commodities are available. The national interest argument might be an immediate one, involving, for example, the Good Neighbor Policy or the necessity of allowing entrance of commodities in repayment for active or passive military assistance. From a long-run strategic point of view, it might be found desirable to encourage the production of such a commodity as plantation rubber in Brazil even though the immediate production possibilities were small.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that trade relations or concessions made under emergency conditions and dictated by immediate political and military policy may be the source of post-emergency economic and political problems of the gravest nature, both domestic and foreign. Where such developments are possible, the pros and cons of the arrangement should be carefully weighed before irretrievable commitments are made.

2. The military problem posed by the importation of deficient materials depends to a great extent upon the sheer bulk of the good and the volume needed. Shipping space and the question of convoy may be involved. For example, iodine, imported from Chile to meet part of our needs for a field antiseptic, offers no great shipping or convoy problem. If necessary, assuming control of the air over the route for the necessary period of time, adequate quantities could be brought in by air freight. Certainly a single shipload of iodine could supply the entire United States with its essential needs for a relatively long period of time. On the other hand, rubber and cork, to cite but two cases, are relatively bulky goods and would require considerable shipping facilities and the accompanying necessary convoy service.

3. Unquestionably the new naval bases recently acquired in the At-

lantic area have done much to ensure continued free importation of materials from the eastern parts of Latin America. Fortification and expansion of Pacific bases will in a lesser degree help to guard our trade routes to the Far East—thus changes in the military picture can affect our materials supply situation.

4. To be useful, a commodity extracted, grown, or manufactured abroad must not only be produced and securely transported to our shores but it must be *procurable*. That is to say, the fact that rubber was grown in satisfactory quantity in a given area, and that our navy and air forces could assure reasonable security in its transport, would not ensure an adequate supply if, due to political or other conditions in the country of origin, title to and export permits for the commodity could not be obtained. Certain aspects of economic warfare are involved here.

5. A possible gain from the general losses of war may be seen in the historical fact that under the pressure of war substitutionary products, artificial or natural, of the greatest long-run significance, may be evolved which would not have come into being normally, or at least so quickly, owing to their inability to compete with the previously used commodities on an economic basis. Some such products, or processes, may, in the post-war period, permit large economic savings or higher utilities as compared with the superseded goods or methods.

The actual techniques which, individually or in some combination, may be used to deal with the problems of deficiencies in strategic materials seem to resolve themselves down to six in number:

1. Increased domestic production of the given commodity.
2. Increased production of the material in areas considered favorable to our interests, and especially those which due to geographical and political circumstances may be termed militarily safe.
3. Employment of substitute products, natural or artificial: a. Superior; b. Complete; c. Practical; d. Inferior; e. Partial.

A *superior* substitute is one which offers a more satisfactory physical and/or economic performance than the original. Such a substitute may very well continue to dominate the field after the emergency. In this technical age it is likely to be a synthetic.

A *complete* substitute is one which offers substantially equal performance, but not necessarily at the same cost. From the military point of view, however, it may be quite as useful as the original.

A *practical* substitute is one which will perform the assigned task with reasonable efficiency, but whose physical characteristics and economic costs would not permit its use under normal conditions.

An *inferior* substitute is one which will only partially, or inadequately, fulfill the assigned task. The situation may not be too bad, however, if the inferior product can be used as an accessory to a certain supply of a proper commodity. Certain "ersatz" goods fall into this category.

A *partial* substitute is one which due to lack of physical supply, or certain technical inadequacies, can take the place of the original only to a limited extent. This class includes goods or materials which, due to the nature of their use, cannot be diluted with superior commodities and "averaged up," or which may be fully adequate for limited substitution but where an adequate supply of supplementary materials to complete the substitution can not be made available.

4. Employment of stock piles.

This technique, one of the most obvious ways of preparing for contingencies when time and supplies are available, has been resorted to by the United States in the past two years. It has been recently estimated that if foreign sources of supply were completely cut off, our stock piles of rubber are sufficient to last nearly a year; those for manganese, twenty months; those for tin, fourteen months; those for mercury, five months, those for all silk, three months; those for silk waste (used in making powder bags) several months; those for antimony, several months; and Manila fiber, several months. To prevent impairment of quality, stock piles are continually being liquidated and renewed as far as the individual units may be concerned.⁴

5. Employment of various recovery processes.

The use of reclaimed or scrap materials varies greatly in its possibilities, dependent upon the commodity. The possibilities in the case of rubber are and have been large. Those of manganese are small due to the tendency of manganese to dissipate in employment and where not dissipated to be economically and technically not available for recovery.

6. Conservation of use by the limitation or denial of export, and by rationing within the country. This technique has obvious possi-

⁴ From a recent survey of the committee on national defense of the National Association of Manufacturers.

bilities and limitations in the case of strategic and critical supplies of materials.

It should be pointed out that a "Ministry of Economic Warfare," with broad powers to perform the functions implicit in the title just given, whatever its actual name might be, is now being found a chief instrument of government for the prosecution of active or passive hostility. Years ago, the German general staff set up a separate section to study the problems of economic warfare. Great Britain has such a ministry, largely concerned with the maintenance of the blockade. To function properly both by plan and execution, such an organization should direct attention not only to the present problems but to the post-emergency period. Its functions may be stated to be both positive and negative, the former referring to action taken to ensure supplies necessary to the national effort, the latter to action taken to reduce or eliminate, or to increase the cost and difficulty of the procuring of supplies by the enemy.

Whether in the case of a given country the positive or the negative aspects of such work are more important depends upon the general military situation, both immediate and long-run. If encircled, the positive aspects may be dominant. If encircling, the negative may be considered more important. Practically, however, the two aspects are inseparable, opposing faces of the same problem. In given cases, materials may be strategically of value both by acquisition and by denial.

To this writer it seems doubtful that the full implications, immediate and post-emergency, of economic warfare as an invaluable adjunct to military pressure have been realized by our people. To some extent our national vagueness in such matters may be an outgrowth of our national vagueness as to what we want to do and be, now and in the future. But we should not wait too long in preparing an efficient instrument for the handling, offensively and defensively, of our strategic problems in connection with materials.

The Human Geography Section of the Southwestern Social Science Association

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The movement to organize a Human Geography Section within the Southwestern Social Science Association was initiated by Professor C. J. Bollinger of the University of Oklahoma. According to his own statement, the purpose he had in view was three-fold: to secure recognition for geography; to provide an opportunity for social contacts and the exchange of ideas among Southwestern geographers; and to stimulate research in geography, particularly in the geography of the Southwest.

Professor Bollinger conferred with the officers of the Southwestern Social Science Association, particularly with Professor J. L. Meacham of the University of Texas, and with his fellow geographers, Dr. William T. Chambers, of Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, and Dr. Edwin F. Foscue, of Southern Methodist University. After securing the approval of the Association, Professor Bollinger corresponded with the geographers of this section, endeavoring to get as many of them as possible on the program. When the program had been compiled, notices were sent to thirty-one people in the Southwest inviting them to attend.

The first meeting of the Human Geography Section took place, in conjunction with the other sections of the Southwestern Social Science Association, in March, 1932, at the Baker Hotel, Dallas, Texas. Professor Bollinger served as chairman. As on all subsequent occasions, the 1932 meeting of the Human Geography Section was divided into three sessions, meeting on the morning and afternoon of Friday, March 25, and the morning of Saturday, March 26. The papers presented were grouped, as far as possible, into three divisions: the broader human aspects of geography; economic geography and land utilization in the Southwest; and topics of interest to geographers professionally. This meeting was attended by many of the geographers still active in the Association, and also by several, such as Mr. Victor McKim, then of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, and Dr. C. W. Thorn-

thwaite, then of the University of Oklahoma, who have since taken positions beyond, or on the borders of the Southwest. The business meeting at the end of the session voted to continue the meetings and elected Dr. Elmer H. Johnson, of the University of Texas, to be chairman of the 1933 section.

The second meeting of the Human Geography Section took place on April 14 and 15, 1933, in the Baker Hotel, Dallas, under the chairmanship of Dr. Johnson. With the exception of Dr. Frank Carney's paper on the training of geographers, all three sessions were devoted to the resources and industries of the Southwest. The Friday morning meeting was set aside for the agricultural aspects of this section, including papers on soil resources, natural vegetation, and ranching. On Friday afternoon, the industrial phase was discussed, while the Saturday morning session was given over to the oil and gas industries.

Dr. Frank Carney, of Baylor University, was chairman of the third meeting which took place March 30 and 31, 1934, at the Adolphus Hotel, Dallas. The program for the Friday morning session shows a series of miscellaneous papers, while the afternoon session was devoted to a symposium on climatology of the Southwest. Among the contributors to the latter was Dr. J. L. Cline, a veteran of the Weather Bureau service in the Southwest. On Saturday, the section attended a field trip conducted by Dr. Ellis W. Shuler to the points of major physiographic interest in the Dallas Area.

The fourth session of the Human Geography Section met under the chairmanship of Dr. Edwin J. Foscue at the Biltmore Hotel, Oklahoma City, on April 19 and 20, 1935. The papers were not confined to any single theme. Again the Saturday meeting was devoted to a field trip, a tour of Oklahoma City and environs conducted by Professor Bollinger. Worthy of note among the papers of the 1935 meeting was the obituary of Dr. Frank Carney, who had been chairman of the Human Geography Section only the previous year.

Dr. Samuel T. Bratton was the chairman of the 1936 meeting, held at the Hotel Texas, Fort Worth, Texas, on April 10 and 11. The three usual sessions were augmented on this occasion by a luncheon meeting on Friday. Among the papers presented was an illustrated lecture on Russia by Mr. Victor Schoffelmayer, a visitor to the section.

In 1937, the Southwestern Social Science Association returned to its previous headquarters in the Baker Hotel, Dallas. The Human Geography Section, of which Dr. William T. Chambers was chairman, met

on March 26 and 27. In the program of this meeting, as in the majority of the programs, there was no attempt to restrict the papers to any predetermined subjects.

The 1938 meeting convened at the Skirvin Hotel, Oklahoma City, on April 15 and 16. Dr. M. F. Burrill, then of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, was the chairman.

Returning to Dallas, the Human Geography Section met at the Baker Hotel on April 7 and 8, 1939. Professor Allen Belden, of the University of Oklahoma, was chairman. Among the interesting papers presented were two by Dr. William Van Royen, of the University of Nebraska. One was a report on the International Geographical Congress which he had attended the previous summer, and the other was a description of the Zuider Zee Reclamation Project, which he had visited.

On March 22 and 23, 1940, the ninth session of the Human Geography Section convened under the chairmanship of Dr. John Q. Adams, of the University of Missouri. The Friday and Saturday morning sessions were held at the Baker Hotel, but on Friday afternoon, the group was taken to the Southern Methodist University campus by way of the Highland Park Shopping Village, which formed the subject of the afternoon's first paper. The purpose of the trip was not only to prepare for the forthcoming paper, but also to hold one meeting of the session on the campus of the University. It was suggested that the geographers might become better acquainted with the colleges of the Southwest by visiting them in this manner when the section met at the towns where they are located.

In conclusion, it seems that the Geography Section, though one of the youngest in the Southwestern Social Science Association, is yearly fulfilling the purposes for which it was organized. The meetings have provided an excellent opportunity for presenting original research to an interesting group, and the social contacts have been equally stimulating. With the continued support of the geographers of the Southwest, this section has an excellent prospect.

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Ekblaw, Sidney

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Floyd, Willie M.

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Gillespie, Mary Grace (With Carol Fritz King)

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Koeppe, C. E.

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King, Carol Fritz (With Mary Grace Gillespie)

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Lynch, R. W.

Some Aspects of the Military Geography of the Mediterranean. (1938)

Mantooth, Bea

The Distribution of the Mexican Population in the United States. (1937)

McDowell, James

The Prospects of the Textile Industry in Texas. (1933)

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Odell, C. B.

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Some Remarks on Rural French Canada. (1939)

Paine, Leland S.

Geography Misses a Golden Opportunity. (1936)
The Urgency of Land Classification in Texas. (1937)
A Study of Farm Population Movements with Reference to Submarginal Land Areas. (1940)

Parr, V. V.

Ranch Reorganization and the Future of Ranching in Texas. (1933)

Pearce, J. E.

The Relations of Race and Geography to Civilization. (1936)

Pollock, R. L.

The Geography of the American Merchant Marine. (1935)

Posey, C. J.

The Problem of the Meat Foods. (1932)

Post, Lauren F.

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Economic Geography of a Region Between the Mississippi River and the Illinois River in West Central Illinois. (1940)

Smith, Harriet

The Black Prairies of Texas—A Regional Study. (1932)
Geography in the State Teachers Colleges of Texas. (1936)

- Human Adjustments to Conservation Work in Texas. (1939)
- Thomas, Lewis F.*
Youth, Maturity, and Old Age of Urban Communities. (1934)
- Thornthwaite, C. W.*
A Geographic Atlas of Oklahoma. (1932)
Natural Vegetation of Oklahoma. (1933)
- Tinsley, J. D.*
The Agricultural Development of the Panhandle. (1933)
- Trotb, Elizabeth* (With Edwin J. Foscue)
The Evolution of the Sugar Industry in the Irish Bend District, Louisiana.
(1936) *Economic Geography*, Vol. 12, 1936.
- Van Royen, William*
Progress of the Zuiderzee Reclamation Project. (1939)
Some Impressions of the International Geographical Congress. (1939)
- Walker, Darthula*
Human Adjustments to the Climatic Conditions of the High Plains of
the Panhandle of Texas. (1935)
Some Impressions of South America, Illustrated. (1940)
- Williams, Vay H.*
Land Utilization in Leedey Consolidated School District, Dewey County.
(1932)
- Winslow, David*
Magnolia Lake in the Seminole City Oil Field. (1939)

Notes From the Southwest

The United States Department of Commerce has recently published "Selected Research Topics in the Fields of Business and Economics." Related more or less to the problems of defense, this list should be of primary value to university staff members and to graduate students in selecting thesis subjects.

New members of the Association are:

John O. Gragg (Econ.) Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, Texas

L. P. Gabbard (Ag. Econ.) Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, College Station

H. C. Young (Attorney at law) Fargo, North Dakota

Lucinda de L. Templin (Soc.) Radford School for Girls, El Paso, Texas

Melvin S. Brooks (Soc.) A. & M. College of Texas, College Station, Texas

Robert W. French (B. A.) Louisiana State Univ., University Station, Baton Rouge, La.

Oliver Benson (Govt.) University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.

Paul D. Zook (Econ.) Louisiana State Univ., University Station, Baton Rouge, La.

Robert L. Martin, Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma

H. R. Mundhenke (Econ.) Texas Christian Univ., Fort Worth, Texas

Sam Barton (Econ.) North Texas State College, Denton, Texas

A. G. Mallison (Hist.) Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana

Homer Hitt (Soc.) Louisiana State University, University Station, Baton Rouge, La.

This year, in the effort to conserve funds, no requests for "Notes" material have been sent out. The consequences are evident below. In the circumstances the editor can do no more than to solicit the aid of the members of the Association in the collection of news items. If you know of something which might interest other members, please report it, even if it concerns yourself.

LOUISIANA

Louisiana State University—Dean James B. Trant of the College of Commerce and Professors S. A. Caldwell, H. L. McCracken and E. K. Zingler of the department of economics, attended the fall meeting of the Southern Economic Association at Nashville November 14-15.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute—George W. Lafferty has resigned as assistant professor of accounting to become research consultant for the State Auditor of Texas.

Leo M. Favrot, associate professor of accounting, has resigned to become business manager at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

H. N. Broom, graduate assistant in accounting at the University of Texas last year, has been appointed assistant professor of accounting.

W. M. Young has resigned as assistant professor of business administration to accept a position with the Texas College of Arts and Industries.

E. W. Clemens has resigned his position with the University of Toledo to accept a position as associate professor of economics. Professor Clemens took his Ph.D. in economics from Wisconsin in 1940.

Karl E. Ashburn, head of the department of economics and business administration, has been elected editor of the quarterly publication of the Louisiana Council on Migratory Labor.

TEXAS

North Texas Agricultural College—Professor Ed. N. Behringer of the department of social science, has resigned his position in order to accept one with the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Dr. H. B. Carroll, professor of history, has returned from a year's leave of absence which he spent with the Texas Historical Association.

Professor C. D. Richards has the courses in English History and Government.

J. D. Bryant of Gladewater, Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of business administration.

Book Reviews

Edited by O. DOUGLAS WEEKS
The University of Texas

Raper, Arthur F., and Reid, Ira De A., *Sharecroppers All*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. ix, 281.)

Sharecroppers All is a challenging title and one that implies, at least, a study of the American scene. Although the authors begin with the usual apologia in reference to the South as "a land of unlimited possibility and of unrelieved privation," they indicate a consideration of the national pattern when they state that "only a little less dependent and insecure than the South's landless farmers are the chain-store clerks, salesmen, insurance agents, taxi-drivers, and filling station operators; while the city's casual laborers and domestic servants receive but little more pay and have little more protection of civil rights than do plantation wage hands and migratory farm laborers."

Thus the work promises a realistic approach and a much needed analysis of the American social-economic structure. But the emphasis is soon shifted to a minority section and the plight of a minority group. The book is divided into four major topics with such catchy and suggestive captions as "Rich Land—Poor Man," "The Negro Gets Pinched," "The White Man Bows," and "Everybody Pays."

The first section pictures the disintegration of the old plantation under the sharecropping system with the hopeless outlook of the disinherited. The second part reveals the plight of the Negro, as the dispossessed white began competing for his job when the depression swept over the land. In the third section the crumbling of the old aristocracy and the rise of the new with its emphasis on "efficient and reasonable labor," "fur coats and white collars," and the dangers inherent in exploited labor are pictured.

Finally in section four the authors develop the thesis that everybody pays in a system of ruthless exploitation of land, resources, and labor. Here they turn to the national pattern, which they claim is an evolving one of exploitation of things, places, time, people, and ideologies. The position of the South and especially of the poor whites and the Negroes within the framework of national exploitation is indicated by a brief analysis of regional receipts. Furthermore, the dangers to democracy are stressed in "Differentials and Democracy," which suggests the exploitation of ideologies by the authors themselves.

The hope of the South according to this thesis is in sensing "the dynamic relations between man and land, between agriculture and industry, between economic status and political efficiency, between race theories and human relations, between actual deficiency and undeveloped resources—physical and human." An

informed person will hardly take issue with such a thesis, but the emphasis on such internal forces as the exploitation of land and labor to the exclusion of an adequate treatment of such external forces as tariff, freight rate differential, and other discriminatory factors indicate that the authors themselves have failed to sense the causal relationships of the forces which have brought the South to its colonial status.

Perhaps the nature of the sources used help to explain the lack of perspective and balance in which is otherwise a promising work. Although there is little documentation, the work reveals a reliance on special monographs bearing on the contemporary scene. There is no bibliography but a good index.

University of Arkansas

AUSTIN L. VENABLE

Taracouzio, T. A., *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. 342.)

This detailed and carefully documented study of Soviet schemes to exploit both war and peace in an effort to achieve world revolution is a timely one. While many facts in this book will not be entirely new to close students of international affairs, the study has merit as a thorough synthesis based on exhaustive use of Russian materials and written from that detached point of view which is all too rare in periods of crisis.

Professor Taracouzio has in general allowed Soviet leaders to speak for themselves. He thereby presents recent Soviet policy as one of keeping war from Russia, but of encouraging war in Europe as a means of promoting world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. While Communist theory has undoubtedly influenced the course of Russian foreign policy, the Russo-German pact of August, 1939, may perhaps be explained in part by more tangible considerations, such as Russia's dread of facing the might of the Germany army alone and an economy which required peace for its development. Does not theory often retreat before the logic of events?

Writing of Soviet policy about 1933, Professor Taracouzio declares: "Practical as it had now learned to be, Moscow knew that until this unity was achieved, *i.e.*, until the Kremlin had complete control over all the factions of labor throughout the world, or at least throughout Europe, it would be folly to permit international peace to end." (p. 237). Yet he finds that both the Third International and the Soviet Union welcomed war in Europe in 1939 (p. 257), although the example of Russia has not filled the masses elsewhere with revolutionary enthusiasm and the proletariat has not yet become strong enough to influence world policies. Two possible explanations are suggested for this apparent contradiction in Soviet policy. Russian leaders may have been under illusions as to Communistic influence abroad. A second and more likely explanation is that the Soviet Union has been trying to relieve itself of embarrassment at the failure of Communism to spread to the masses by helping create a situation where revolutions can be furthered.

This book, like all good books, raises many questions which perhaps cannot

be answered now that the Soviet policy of keeping war from Russia has failed and that Germany and Russia are, as this review is written, engaged in a decisive struggle. It seems easy, for example, to make too much of theoretical differences between National Socialism and Communism. In the actual working of the two systems the differences appear unimportant and superficial. Has not the Soviet Union in practical politics imitated the worst features of the strongly nationalistic states which it condemns and seeks to undermine? One suspects at times that such traditional factors as Pan-Slavism and imperialism have remained very much alive in Russia, Communist theory to the contrary notwithstanding.

As one would expect in a work by so careful a scholar as Professor Taracouzio, there is almost a complete absence of error in statements of fact. His assertion that "in France distrust of Germany was complete" after the annexation of Austria (p. 173) is open to question in view of the conduct of France after that date. The figure for the population of that part of Poland which Russia annexed (p. 249) has suffered from a typographical error.

An appendix which records all of the international agreements of the Soviet union is a useful addition to the study. The bibliography is not complete. Only Russian works are listed, although other works are cited in the footnotes.

University of Arkansas

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Statistics for Sociologists*. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1941, pp. viii, 934.)

Sociologists responsible for acquainting students with the statistical tools employed in social research have long felt the need for a textbook buttressed with sociological data. Heretofore, sociology students, after mastering the standard statistical techniques with data, interpretations, and illustrations drawn from economics, education, and psychology, have been forced to transfer the application of these techniques to the realm of sociological phenomena. This transfer is suddenly outmoded by the simultaneous appearance of two texts primarily designed for sociologists: Hagood's *Statistics for Sociologists* and McCormick's *Elementary Social Statistics*.

Statistics for Sociologists, the volume here reviewed, emphasizes not elements of theory as the derivation and proof of formulae, but the "correct application of statistical methods to sociological data." Statistical methods may be differentiated according to function, and it is on the basis of this differentiation that the subject matter of the book is organized. The whole body of statistical method may be separated into the four divisions: (1) simple descriptive statistics; (2) simple inductive statistics; (3) descriptive statistics of relationship; and (4) inductive statistics of relationship. The first two of these functional divisions are treated in Parts II and III of the book, respectively. The third and fourth functional divisions are dealt with together in Part IV, entitled "Statistics of Relationship." Part I is concerned with a general treatment of "Quantitative Methods in Sociology." In the final section, Part V, selected techniques for the analysis of population data are considered. Included among these techniques are

those related to compositional characteristics, population estimates, birth and death rates, and life tables.

This text, with its non-mathematical emphasis, is suitable for an introduction to statistics. However, all the conventional basic statistical methods and some of the newer techniques only now gaining acceptance are included. Furthermore, attention is focused on measures of precision, confidence limits, and formulae for analyzing small samples, features missing in the ordinary statistics text. Unquestionably, this text by Hagood is a much-needed, and therefore welcome, addition to the field of social methodology.

Louisiana State University

HOMER L. HITT

Herring, Harriet L., *Southern Industry and Regional Development*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. xiii, 103.)

The Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina has produced another of its significant regional studies in *Southern Industry and Regional Development* by Harriet L. Herring. In this book of about a hundred pages the author sets forth the principle of optimum production which she says really means the best for the long run, for the well-being of regions and nation, for the utilization of resources and skills, and for economy of production and distribution. Along with this principle three sub-principles are presented as follows: (1) a state or region should manufacture for the national market those goods for which it is peculiarly suited because of climate, of natural and agricultural resources, and of skills; (2) in addition, a state or region should manufacture for its own use goods for the production of which it has sufficient resources and skills; (3) finally, a state or region should develop, at least for its own use, the manufacture of those goods from which it could economically and profitably produce raw materials and develop its potential skills. The author then examines the South, in reality the Southeast, in order to see how it stands with reference to these standards.

In industries which fall into the first category the three principal industries of the South are turpentine and rosin, cane sugar production, and cigarettes. With reference to two other industries which fall into Group 1, namely, cotton yarn and thread, and cotton goods, the author says: "For a very complicated set of reasons—overproduction, competition, trade organization, competing fibers and fabrics, rapid style changes, etc.,—both industries have spent nearly the whole of the last two decades in depression. Traditionally semi-skilled, low wage industries, they have remained so for these internal conditions." Among industries which fall into Group 2, the principal ones are food product industries, textile industries, printing and publishing industries, chemical and allied products, stone, clay, and glass products, iron and steel products, and ship and boat-building industries. Those of Group 3 are principally industries using agricultural products, with suggested opportunities for lithographing and photoengraving, for pottery, and possible encouragement of four types of manufactures in iron and steel, namely, bolts and nuts, forging, wire, and wire work.

It is the opinion of the author that in the national emergency the Southern textile industry will receive large orders, but that the more immediate task of the section is the expansion of its chemical, iron and steel, and shipbuilding industries; and also she says, especially, that vocational and technical skills must be developed.

This study of Southern industry is of interest to those concerned with the development of Southwestern industry, especially in view of the recent report of the National Resources Planning Board on the Southwestern Region. As Howard W. Odum says in his Foreword: "We have come to see that the way to make a strong nation is to create strong regions; the way to make strong regions is to balance people with resources; the way to redistribute wealth is to create the capacity to produce and to use richly in each region; the way to develop children and youths is to give them opportunity in their own regional setting; and always the balance of men and resources to be achieved through the democratic process."

North Texas Agricultural College

A. B. ARMSTRONG

George Washington as the French Knew Him: A Collection of Texts. Edited and Translated, with an Introduction by Gilbert Chinard. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. xviii, 161.)

Although George Washington's military exploits and his subsequent political career in the Convention of 1787 and in the presidency are well known, his personality is relatively obscure. Nor do we know much of his reputation among his contemporaries, especially those in France. Professor Chinard's book, "*Washington as the French Knew Him, A Collection of Texts*," helps to remedy these two deficiencies.

His book is a collection of excerpts drawn from French writings which mention Washington as soldier, statesman, and man. Here are assembled the observations of thirty-six Frenchmen—volunteers under Washington, members of the French expeditionary force under Rochambeau, diplomats and travelers, Napoleon and his officials, and, finally, a few early 19th century writers such as Tocqueville and Guizot. Only a fraction of the thirty odd writers is widely known; namely, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Fersen, Chateaubriand, Genet, Napoleon, Tocqueville, and Guizot. That most of the writers chosen by Chinard are not widely known adds definitely to the value of this volume.

Nearly all the texts selected highlight the personality of Washington. Repeatedly we see him as a respected and well-liked gentleman presiding at his own table, participating in toasts, and leading in conversation. With the exception of Genet and his successor, Adet, the writers appearing in this book admire Washington; some even venerate him; all recognize his ability. Together they stress his kindness, affability, and poise, his ability, greatness, and unselfishness. Not infrequently praise is extravagant, even for late 18th century style. Washington, for example, is called a masterpiece of nature (Moré de Pontgibaud, p. 28); he is compared by others to Alexander, Caesar, Conde, Eugene, and

Turenne. Indeed the ensemble of observations generate the impression that Washington was more urbane, more able, and greater than his usual stereotype.

Although a wary reader might suspect a collection of texts such as this to be difficult and uninspiring reading, his suspicions would be misplaced. In truth, it is a pleasant, though necessarily uneven, book to read. Within it are many terse phases and incidents useful alike in writing and teaching. It presents a fresh, favorable picture of Washington. Professor Chinard's prefatory essay is at once an informative sketch of his hero and an introduction to the sources. Both within the essay and the text are many "leads" for further research. A similar book based on German and Italian writings might improve our concept of Washington as well as clarify our knowledge of early 19th century German and Italian republican development. Perhaps Washington as a "safe" and successful republican leader was a model for Italian and German liberals as Professor Chinard shows he was for leaders in France.

Unfortunately a few mechanical faults mar the book. Thus, at times, the kind of document, its date, or addresses are not clear. There is need occasionally for the identification of obscure persons and incidents, for most of us do not possess Professor Chinard's meticulous knowledge of the period. These shortcomings, however, should not detract seriously from an unusual and rewarding book.

Mercer University

GARLAND DOWNUM

Whitbeck, R. H., and Finch, V. C., *Economic Geography, A Regional Survey*, fourth edition. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941, pp. 647.)

Teachers who have been offering a regional survey course of the world will especially welcome this new fourth edition of a well known and widely used textbook of economic geography. The original basic organization of the text is essentially unchanged, but much of it has been entirely rewritten by Dr. Finch. Not only has the material been brought up to date, but it has been considerably expanded and modified so as to bring out significant factors of regional geography. Without detracting from its proven value as an economic geography, this revision, as indicated by the new sub-title, makes it adaptable as a text for a regional survey of the world. It therefore meets a definite need, for until now there has been, with one possible exception, no single book written for American college students that has been satisfactory without a great deal of supplementary material for a course on the regions of the world.

Most outstanding of the modifications is the substitution of a 32-page discussion entitled "Regional Contrasts in United States and Canada" for Chapter II in earlier editions on "Agriculture in United States and Canada." Based on a map which divides Anglo-America into 14 generalized regions, the chapter consists of a brief, excellent, analytical description of each region. Regional maps with short discussions of each region are included along with topical discussions of extra and inter-regional material for Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, the Soviet Union, and India. Africa is dealt with solely on a regional basis. While no regional map is presented for that part of Europe outside of

the U.S.S.R., the countries are so grouped in the organization of chapters so as to set off the complex, highly industrialized areas from the purely agricultural sections.

Dr. Finch acknowledges the difficulty of attempting to write an economic geography text during this period of international disorder. He must be congratulated, however, on the manner in which he has vitalized his material by including throughout the book clear, concise, unbiased and scholarly comments on the present war wherever such statements are pertinent. His analysis of Japan's "new order in Asia" is a particularly good example.

While there has been an increase of 81 pages in textual material in the latest edition, the number of figures has been reduced. Many of the old ones have been replaced by illustrations pertaining to the regional discussions including many photographs taken throughout North America by Dr. Finch. As in the older editions, there is an abundance of graphs and dot maps.

Oklahoma A. and M. College

KENNETH BERTRAND

Turner, H. Haines, *Case Studies of Consumers' Cooperatives*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 330.)

Not the least interesting part of Dr. Turner's book is the introduction, in which he presents the background of the cooperative movement and also makes some pertinent remarks as to the commercialization of culture. The major portion of the volume has to do with stories of the Finnish-American cooperatives in Maynard, Massachusetts, and Finnish-American cooperatives in the Lake Superior region. The author presents the histories of these organizations fully and completely with attention given to the reasons for their origin, their activities, and appraisals.

The conclusions reached from these case studies are that economies in the costs of distribution have been made by these particular cooperatives as compared with private distribution, and that in some respects there may be more basis for cooperative development in the future than in the past. It was found that the economies in retail and wholesale trade accomplished by the cooperatives in the Lake Superior region show a saving to consumers in food distribution of about five per cent compared with independent wholesalers and retailers." In retail distribution alone the saving on food amounted to around 5 per cent for the Lake Superior cooperatives, but somewhat less in Maynard, Massachusetts. In other lines of retailing such as gasoline, hardware, and appliances, the savings were greater."

Two trends, according to the author, may cause more cooperative development in the United States. These are a growing homogeneity of the population and greater economic stress. Also, "price-fixing legislation, if it is extended, will prove an advantage to consumers' cooperatives. While they must sell at the prices required of other retailers, they will be able to pass on the savings of efficient operation plus the margin of net profits through patronage refunds.

Private competitors, on the other hand, will be prevented from lowering prices to meet their competition."

Dr. Turner says that, while these developments in American life seem promising for cooperatives, there are other trends which work in the opposite direction, namely, the concentration of the majority of the population in cities and that for most Americans there have been avenues, other than cooperatives, for economic betterment.

North Texas Agricultural College

A. B. ARMSTRONG

Martin, Roscoe C. (Ed.) *National Defense and State Finance*. (University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, 1941, pp. v, 180.)

This volume grows out of a southwide conference held early in 1941, under the joint auspices of the Alabama State Department of Revenue, the Federation of Tax Administrators, and the Bureau of Public Administration of the University. It consists of a series of eleven papers dealing with three main topics. There are four which survey the policies followed in financing World War I in Australia, Canada, and the United States, with special reference to their effect upon states and provinces. The next two discuss the emergency spending in the United States, 1933-1940, and the defense spending of 1940 and beyond, with special reference to the method of financing and its effect upon the states. The emergency spending program has needed no justification to political scientists and to socially minded people, but so much criticism has been heaped upon it by economists and others that it is refreshing to find a clear and scholarly justification of it, from an economist of established reputation. The Director of the Budget similarly shows the economic justification for the use of the borrowing power, both in connection with the depression spending and the defense financing, in terms of increased annual income, lower interest rates and debt service charges, and the need for government securities for large investors, in the absence of any adequate supply of private offerings.

Upon the basis of the background thus provided, the remaining papers deal specifically with the financial problems of the states at present and for the immediate future—the outlook for state budgets (James W. Martin), the prospect for state services (Daniel W. Hoan), probable developments in state revenues (Albert Lepawsky), the economic effect of the defense program on the South (Lawrence L. Durisch), and the ways in which the states may prepare for the financial difficulties ahead (Simeon E. Leland). The volume is timely and is significant for two reasons. It attempts, in the first place, to review the past experience of this and other countries, for the purpose of deriving therefrom any lessons which may be of value in connection with the problems now confronting us. This is sound social science procedure. In the second place, it represents a very commendable and forward looking attempt to plan for the meeting of the difficult problems in state finance that must inevitably follow the tapering off

of the defense program, or the war itself. That attempt cannot be made too early or too earnestly.

Temple University

W. BROOKE GRAVES

Whitbeck, R. H., and Williams, Frank E., assisted by Christians, William F., *Economic Geography of South America*, third edition. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940, pp. 469.)

Persons acquainted with the first two editions of this book by the senior author will recognize that a great deal of revision has been done by Professor Williams with the assistance of Professor Christians. The broad outline of the book remains the same, but the regional treatment of the political units is much expanded and more thoroughgoing than in the earlier editions.

The high standard of quality set by the first edition has been exceeded in this latest revision. The clear, easy-flowing style of Professor Whitbeck is retained, and the wealth of maps, diagrams, and pictures has been increased. Noteworthy additions to the illustrations are the regional maps for each country using sections of Guy-Harold Smith's Physiographic Diagram of South America as a base and shaded distribution maps for Brazil by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

By stressing only the essential material the authors have avoided the danger of too much detail. This permits the instructor time enough for the addition of the latest developments. On the other hand, forgetting the title of the book, there are places where one might hope for slightly more detailed discussion of physiography and climate. While Professor Williams has added much to the original sketchy discussion of the three southern states of Brazil, even more would be welcomed by the average instructor. The same may be said for the discussion of the southern part of the Central Valley of Chile, for it is not too well differentiated from the major part of the valley.

From the point of view of organization, clarity, illustrations, and physical make-up the book has few equals in any phase of geography.

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KENNETH BERTRAND

Bogardus, Emory S., *Sociology*, Revised Edition. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, pp. xii, 567.)

This book is a "revision of a revision" of one of the old stand-bys among introductory sociology texts. The original book was published in 1913 under the title *Introduction to Sociology*, and went through five editions. In the revision which appeared in 1934 the title was changed to *Sociology*, that designation being retained in the current edition.

On the author's own statement the basic theme of the first edition has been carried over into all subsequent editions. In his own words, it was his purpose to center "attention on sociology as a study of social groups and particularly of the groups of which students themselves are members. In this way the reader

will find sociology to be not an arm-chair philosophy . . . but a science for daily application." This purpose is re-expressed in this edition in these words—"The social group as the center of human interaction, as the matrix of social processes and social change, and as the realm within which personalities originate, develop, and mature, continues as the main theme. . . . The social group is considered to be the main laboratory of sociology. Although there are many texts in sociology today, this one maintains the social group interpretation more consistently than do others."

A glance at the table of contents and index will serve to convince the skeptic that the author has adhered rigidly to his stated purpose. The book, then, is largely an effort at "bringing each chapter up to date." As such, and for those who like the approach employed, the revision will be welcomed.

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REX D. HOPPER

Book Notes

Amidst all the hue and cry about Latin America it is refreshing to read the calm, dispassionate discussion by Dr. Percy W. Bidwell in his *Economic Defense of Latin America* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 96). In this pamphlet, which is No. 3 of the World Peace Foundation's pamphlet series entitled "America Looks Ahead," Dr. Bidwell first shows the adverse effect of the present war upon the markets of most of Latin America. He then explains how Nazi propaganda and "conspiracies" would become really serious in the event of a German victory in the war. Next he makes clear the methods of Nazi economic penetration, both in the Balkans and in Latin America. All of this leads up to the author's fourth chapter, which is "The Weapons of Economic Defense." In it he shows the good effects of the Hull program, but he also proves that the United States can not measurably increase its purchases of either non-competitive or competitive surpluses in Latin America and that financial aid through the Export-Import Bank and the Inter-American Bank, while helpful, can not, in the long-run, take the place of trade. The last chapter exposes in plain words the fallacy of hemisphere self-sufficiency but urges, at the same time, the wisdom of doing everything possible to assist Latin America in its efforts to develop a sounder, more diversified economy. This brief, readable pamphlet would increase every citizen's understanding of the reason why most informed persons have long believed that as goes Europe so goes Latin America. It should be required reading for all isolationists.

C. T.

It is difficult enough to describe with sufficient precision the present nature of the British Commonwealth; yet Dr. Theodore Kraft has essayed a brief pamphlet entitled *The Future of the British Commonwealth of Nations* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940, pp. 29). Following an excellent introduction by Sir Willmott Lewis the author first recounts the story of the rise of the Dominions to a position of greater constitutional importance during the first World War, a development that culminated after the war in the Statute of Westminster. He correctly points out that most of the Dominions have consistently denied that they are separate units internationally and that, in consequence, intra-commonwealth arrangements and problems cannot be handled by the formal methods of diplomacy. The author's conjectures are left for the last few pages, in which are treated the effects of the present war upon the Commonwealth. Dr. Kraft believes that the Dominions will not adopt a partnership status in the Empire but will remain independent Dominions in alliance with Great Britain—always excepting Eire. The war, he believes, will also bring the Dominions as such more closely together. Should the war go against the Allies, the Dominions that remain unconquered will, in his opinion, become independent states. In all probability the author did not have a full comprehension of the world-wide effects that a Nazi victory would produce.

C. T.

As No. 1 of its pamphlet series entitled "America Looks Ahead" the World Peace Foundation has published Fred Alexander's *Australia and the United States* (Boston: 1941, pp. 68). In this well-written booklet the author examines the causes for and the developments in Australian-American relations since the first World War. He starts with the generally accepted assumption of good-fellowship between the two peoples but goes on to explain that the preoccupation of each other with their own problems prevented for long anything like a coordinated policy in the Pacific. Indeed Australia could be said to have favored a policy of appeasement toward Japan until the implications of the Axis program became clear. The Japanese-Axis agreement of September, 1940, produced results hardly anticipated by the Axis conspirators. The Australians gave up their Pacific appeasement tendencies and the United States entered promptly into the study of strategic considerations in the whole area in collaboration with the British, the Dutch, the Australians, and the New Zealanders. In short, the whole story of the Far East and the Pacific from the Manchurian incident to the present establishes the indivisibility of peace. If Americans and Australians are wise, they will assume more international responsibilities and, at the same time, will develop closer relations with each other. The exchange of ministers in 1940 was a step in the right direction.

C. T.

With the publication of *Research in Public Budget Administration, An Outline of Suggested Research Topics* (New York, 1941, pp. 37), the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Public Administration adds another to its list of pamphlets pointing out possible lines of inquiry in the field of administrative law and procedure. The present outline was undertaken by John D. Millett, with the advice and assistance of some thirty scholars, administrators, and government research men. Following an excellent five page introductory survey of the previously published literature on budgeting, the outline turns to brief comments and suggested questions for study on the following topics: the budget as an instrument of fiscal policy, revenue budgeting, organization for budget preparation, preparation of expenditure estimates, capital budgeting, the activities of a budget office, form and content of the budget, the process of legislative appropriation, appropriation legislation, the time element in budget preparation, administrative control of expenditures, cost accounting, audit, intergovernmental budget relations, budget personnel, constitutional and legal provisions for public budgeting, and the history of budget offices. These topics pretty thoroughly cover the possible lines of inquiry in the budget field. This pamphlet, like the others in the series, should be valuable not only to scholars and administrators, but to candidates for advanced degrees, interested in fiscal administration. The members of this group should be able from the multitude of suggestions, to find something of some real significance and usefulness.

W. B. G.

A "radio listening group" consists of persons who habitually meet together to listen to some particular program, for instance, a group of twenty parents

meeting together to hear a weekly broadcast lecture on child psychology. The authors—Frank Ernest Hill, an American, and W. E. Williams, an Englishman, of *Radio's Listening Groups* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. vii, 270), are specialists in adult education and approach the problem from that standpoint. By means of questionnaires and personal interviews they attempt to explore the question as to whether group listening is an effective technique of adult education. The inquiry revealed that there are some 8,000 listening groups in the United States, and it states the conditions under which listening groups are most successful. Although the authors are modest in their claims for the value of group listening as compared with individual listening, they feel that the program gets more concentrated attention and that there is a possibility for discussion afterwards. The conclusions of the English writer for his country parallel that of the American. The authors do not claim that the listening group is a phenomenon of vast importance or that it will rise to future importance. While this painstaking study will doubtless be of value to radio executives and specialists in adult education, it will be of little interest to the average social scientist.

D. S. S.

W. R. B. Willcox, the author of *The Curse of Modern Taxation* (New York: Fortuny's, 1938, pp. 140), is an architect. His book is a Single Tax book, though he does not once use the term Single Tax, nor is Henry George mentioned. If the government (he doesn't say which level of government) should take all of the economic rent of land, Mr. Willcox would not call the process taxation, but one of government collection of the Rent. Granted this income to government, taxes, which, he says, are what "poison the well-springs of social harmony," could be abolished and civilization would be saved from socialism, communism, nazism, tyranny, and ultimate destruction. In other words, here is the panacea or the short-cut to a utopian state of society. The title of this book and such chapter headings as "Childlike Innocence" and "Attuned to Sweet Charity," are no doubt designed to make the volume have a popular appeal. It is a wholly one-sided presentation of the proposition of the Single Tax, and a novice in the study of this economic issue should read along with Mr. Willcox's book Arthur N. Young's *The Single Tax Movement in the United States* and what almost any text book on public finance has to say on the Single Tax.

E. T. M.

The American Nation, by John D. Hicks (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1941, pp. xviii, 734), is the companion volume for *The Federal Union* and completes the American history survey from 1865 through the Willkie-Roosevelt campaign. Although the book is in keeping with the demand for more attention to social and economic developments, the author has "not yielded" to "those pedagogical faddists who insist that political history should be stripped of its garments and consigned bare and meaningless to occasional thin chapters of names and dates." About half of the thirty chapters are political, military or

diplomatic, but all through this lively account is continuous evidence of careful integration of the various forces in history. This text includes over 100 illustrations and maps along with ably selected quotations from source materials which pertain to subjects under thought evoking discussion. Welcome is the perspective of the author and the amount of space devoted to problems and reactions of the West. A thirty page index completes the book. The publishers deserve credit for printing a 24 page bibliography as well as footnote references which should encourage more undergraduates to read.

R. C. C.

Marriage (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Revised Edition, 1941, pp. xv, 671), by Ernest R. Groves, one of America's acknowledged authorities in the field, is a revision of a work first published in 1933. The revision is amply justified by the fact that in the intervening years the original book has become standard, students and teachers all over the country looking to Professor Groves as the dean of teachers of courses on marriage. However, there are no fundamental changes in the book, the theoretical orientation remaining largely unmodified but with some incidental re-arrangements. In each instance topics have been re-arranged in such fashion as to make for a more logical treatment of the materials. The addition of three appendices on (A) Frigidity, (B) A list of reference books purchased by the students of the University of North Carolina for use in the course there, and (C) A bibliography of books deemed imperative for instructors giving course in marriage, add a great deal to the value of an already valuable book.

R. D. H.

The question of production for consumption and the part that the United States government has played through the distribution of food to the needy has been carefully analyzed by Ray Harvey, of New York University, in *Want in the Midst of Plenty, The Genesis of the Food Stamp Plan*. Mr. Harvey concludes that because of price maintenance and producer subsidization, the program has failed to accomplish the maximum in social benefits. The stamp plan has not increased participation in the program, and the author believes that surplus distribution will have to be extended to low-income families who are not on relief. This booklet was issued by the American Council on Public Affairs.

G. F.

The history of the region of Oklahoma where the humorist spent his boyhood, the district that he later called home, is related in *The Will Rogers Country* by Noel Kaho, issued by the University of Oklahoma Press. This little book, slightly jumpy in its organization, takes up the early Spanish and French exploration and ownership as well as the occupancy of the Osages and the Cherokees. The intangibility of the subject may account for some of the reader's feeling that the author was guilty of padding. A chronological table and a map add nicely to the text.

G. F.

The American Labor Press, An Annotated Directory, has been issued by the American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C. It will prove valuable to persons interested in labor questions, especially those economists and sociologists who seek the reactions of organized labor to specific situations. The directory should be of assistance in sampling the opinions of labor.

G. F.

As a text and an alternative to *Introduction to Economic Analysis*, Professors A. MacD. McIsaac and J. G. Smith of Princeton University, have written *Essential Economic Principles*, issued by Little, Brown and Company, Boston. The book has been designed for use as an elementary text in survey courses, and to serve as an outline for advanced study in economics. It is clearly, yet explicitly, written, and includes an adequate index, as well as graphs and tables.

G. F.

